1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

the man (or men) who brings the fish to take the portion to the Tui Kanokupolu. The Tui Kanokupolu then gives the bearer dry kava root and tapa. In presenting the fish, either *atu*, or *vete*, the bearer says, "Ata sends these fish."

At the *vete* fishing, Ata is sometimes present, sitting in the shade of a tree until all is ready. When Latukefu notifies him to come, the fishermen make a place for him in the middle of the line; Latukefu announcing that the moment for casting has come, Ata throws his net. At once all in line do likewise, making a fence of their nets, which are so skillfully thrown that one net just touches the next. To close the exit, the end man throws his net at right angles to the others. For a net thrower to overlap another's net or to leave an opening for fish to escape would entail a thrashing by Ata, or some one detailed by him, and the tearing to pieces of his net. The nets are the property of the fishermen and are said to have been so anciently. Not only when Ata is present at fishing, but also on later occasions, the women remain behind in Kolovai, and assemble the necessary things for preparing kava and take them where the men are fishing. Subsequent to the first catch of the season, it is the custom to present the first haul of *vete* to the women who have brought the kava. Ata receives his share of later catches, of which he may, or may not, send some to the Tui Kanokupolu.

The gathering of crustacea and shellfish, which is done chiefly by women, was under the supervision of a petty chief with the title Tovi. Tovi, at the coronation of the Tui Kanokupolu, makes a speech relative to the gathering of shellfish and crabs. It is Tovi's special duty to have crabs and shellfish gathered for Ata, who forwards them to the Tui Kanokupolu.

Evidently lineages other than the Haa Ngata Motua had chiefs who, like Ata, functioned as controllers of the food supply. It is said that Vaea occupies a similar position in the Haa Havea, and that formerly Tamale held the same position in the Tui Tonga's lineage. In their capacity of controllers of the food supply these three chiefs are called by other chiefs *tuakaifonua*, an ancient uncomplimentary term which means literally, "commoner eating the land," and which is said to be applied by chiefs who are jealous of this extensive control of food products. A more elegant Tongan designation for these controllers of the food supply is *pule fonua*, (ruler of the land). Anciently the produce submitted by Ata and Vaea to the Tui Kanokupolu was in part transmitted to the Tui Haa Takalaua and to the Tui Tonga. That assembled through the efforts of Tamale went directly to the Tui Tonga.

On certain occasions all of the chiefs of the Haa Ngata Motua and the Haa Havea brought presents of food and kava to the Tui Kanokupolu, a ceremony called *pongipongi* (literally, morning), though presentation took place in the afternoon. When the Haa Havea or the Haa Ngata Motua de-

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ordered a number of stakes to be stuck up around the *tanungapola* to warn off trespassers until the fishing had been completed.

Members of the resident body of a *tofia* needed no chiefly permission to use any *tanungapola* on that *tofia*. Informants think that in ancient times the first catch went direct to the district chief, who forwarded some to his overlord, the Tui Kanokupolu or the Tui Tonga.

The construction and use of fish traps is said to have been learned from the Samoans. An ancient tapu in Tonga reserved the making of fish traps to the *toutai ika* (professional fishermen) but nowadays this tapu is removed. It was stated that a "fish trap," used anciently in trees with a decoy bird to catch pigeons, was adapted later for use in fishing.

A kind of fish trap (*kau*) was made and used only by the people of Talau, Vavau, about which the following story is told:

> Two matapules of the Tui Talau, Mapu and Faingaa, invented (?) the *kau* trap. Their chief, seeing the merits of the invention, excused these men from all other work, and they became local *toutai* (fishers and navigators) and lived like petty chiefs. No one else could make their traps. Later these men taught the trade to a man named Lulu who carried on their work and enjoyed their privileges after their death. Lulu in turn had a successor, name unknown, and so on. Not until King George I freed the people were these traps made by everyone—women as well as men. [As the first Tui Talau and the first Mapu and Faingaa in Tonga are reputed to have been Fijian immigrants, perhaps the *kau* fish trap is a diffused Fijian invention.]

At Tuanekivale, Vavau, were two families whom tradition set aside as specialists in shark fishing:

> The title holders in these families, named Palefau and Fetoaui, were called *toutai*, but it is doubtful whether they were so designated by the Tui Tonga. They are said to still exercise their family function. In shark fishing they employed a boat, a bait of pork, and a rope noose. It is said that they could call the sharks about them at will.
>
> It was believed that if while away fishing, things should happen at home to the detriment of the fishers, such as stealing of their property, the sharks could not be caught, no matter how plentiful they might be. In such an emergency, it behooved the fishers to return home and make some sort of peaceful settlement of the difficulty, after which the sharks could readily be caught.

Other Occupations

In modern Tonga tapa is made by coöperative associations of women (*kautaha*). Each woman contributes an equal amount of white tapa strips, which she has previously prepared, and the manufactured goods are shared among the members of the company. The work is done in specially erected houses and usually under the direction of an old woman.

The making of large mats is done by individual women, but a woman may call upon her neighbors to assist her in her work, with the understanding that the same assistance may be asked in return.

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Coiled baskets (*katoalu*) are made by women, but never for their own use. Most of them are intended as gifts to a chief or for presents at weddings, funerals, or similar occasions. The basket may be used by the recipient, but many baskets, particularly openwork baskets, seem to be put to no practical use.

Wooden bowls were made by men who probably were *tufunga langafale*.

Tongan medical treatment is a mixture of magic and herb doctoring. (See page 338.) Most of the doctors are commoners, and may be either male or female (*tangata faitoo* or *fefine faitoo*). They are not appointed by chiefs, but usually follow the practice of a parent, thus keeping the knowledge a secret within the family. Payment (*tukutoo*) is made after a cure, in the form of a feast, during which valuable articles (*koloa*, wealth) such as tapa and mats are placed in front of the doctor. The supercisor of boys was termed *faikaukau* of *faitefe*. (See p. 188.)

While barbers, according to Mariner, might be either men or women, most of them are said to have been women. Women of chiefly rank could serve as barbers for chiefs.

TITLES OF MATAPULES AND ARTISANS

The following list includes the matapule titles which I have recorded, together with the origin of each title and the relationships of the incumbents so far as known. The titles of artisans are included, though all of them may not be strictly matapule titles. (See p. 144.)

Afeaki, matapule to the Tui Kanokupolu. Resides in Haapai.

Afu Haa Laufuli, a matapule of the Haa Molofaha, serving the Tui Kanokupolu; resides in Vavau. Anciently he was matapule to the Tui Haa Takalaua and had a house at Fonuamotu, Tongatabu, the residence of the Tui Haa Takalaua.

Afu Haa Mango, a matapule. Residence Okoa Island, Vavau.

Ahomee, a carpenter (*tufunga fale*) appointed by the chief Ahomee in whose *tofia* at Utui, Vavau, he lives. He was preceded in title by his father and his father's father. The present holder of the title is said to be a younger brother of the chief Ahomee.

Akauola, the *toutai* (navigator) of the king of Tonga. A member of the Haa Toutai. He is said to be of Samoan descent, the Samoan form of his title being Laauola. Akauola and Moala are related.

Angakehe, a matapule in the village of Uiha, Uiha Island, Haapai, serving the chief Malupo of that place.

Faingaa, a *toutai ika* (fisherman) of Talau, Vavau Island. Perhaps this is one of the Falefa matapules, for his partner is Mapu, as with Falefa matapules.

Fakatea, ruler of Vavau displaced by Tuituiohu, the "governor" sent there by the Tui Tonga Pau. Fakatea is said to have been only a matapule.

Fakatulolo, also called Lutui and Fokololo. A matapule of the Haa Toutai, now serving the Tui Kanokupolu, but formerly serving the Tui Haa Takalaua. The first incumbent is said to have come from the Tokelau Islands. Fokololo is the name of the garment worn by people when going into the sea. The first Fakatulolo of whom I have record was succeeded by his son Siu, who was succeeded by his daughter's son Tukia, who was succeeded by his brother Ngongo. A Fakatulolo died August 5, 1897.

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on other occasions, such as the visiting of a relative's grave or at the task called *lanu kilikili* (p. 201).

A *tua* never sang his mourning song for a deceased chief or matapule. Only the chief's near relatives and ranking friends had the privilege of so mourning for him.

Every time a new contingent of mourners arrived at the place of death, the fact became evident from the loud, energetic nature of the singing. This zest soon died down until the songs blended monotonously into the general confusion of the ensemble of mourning. All mourning laments made constant use of the word *oiaue* (alas). The term *fakapo* (literally murder) is also employed. Thus, when women mourn they beat their breasts and cry, "Fakapo, fakapo."

When a chief died, all his *tua* retainers "cut" (singed) off their hair as a sign of mourning (*tauangaa*). The hair was not "bobbed," but was removed quite close to the scalp. There seems to be some doubt as to whether matapule followed this practice, and chiefs are said never to have cut their hair as a sign of mourning, except upon the death of the Tui Tonga or Tamaha, when all the inhabitants of Tonga shaved their heads. The heads of immature children are shaved on the death of their father as a sign of respect and mourning.

Because of the tapu of the head of a deceased person, a visitor lower in rank sits at some distance at the foot of the corpse. Nowadays it is common to kiss the dead person's face, but after so doing an inferior relative sits in the part of the room towards the feet of the corpse and the visit is not long.

The term *fakakoloa* means to enshroud a corpse with tapa and mats. A great pile of these was spread over the body of one of rank and distinction. This work was done by women only, including all the wives and women of the chief and of his retainers. A hand barrow or bier called *fata* served to carry a corpse. When the *fata* was made for the body of a Tui Tonga, Tui Tonga Fefine, or Tamaha, a great many men shouldered the poles to carry it.

A house, like a dwelling house, to which a chief was taken when thought to be dying, was called *faletolia*. The house was specially constructed for this prospective event. Here the chief was left to die, all his matapule and retainers gathering about him to mourn and take care of him. Or if a chief should die suddenly, his corpse would be taken to such a house to lie in state. The *tua* from among a chief's retainers did all of the manual labor in connection with the upkeep of the *faletolia*, the *haatufunga* attending to the official and ceremonial duties. After the burial the house might be burned or the sister's son (*fahu*) of the deceased might claim it as a future place of dwelling. Previous to this, all the mats and other household effects as-

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work being practical in its scope. Bottles of coconut oil seen at modern graves are to oil the black pebbles to make them appear even blacker.

The *kilikili*, or other decorative materials, were always placed on the grave by women, among whom were the female relatives of the dead and all neighboring women who contributed their work as *meaofa* (thing of love), which would later be reciprocated. The work and the feasting were accompanied and intervalled by mourning and crying. It is customary to hang wreaths and girdles called *sisi* at graves. Food is not offered to the dead, but mats and tapa may be.

If the dead were of chiefly rank, the ranking male representative of that chiefly family acted as director of the *lanukilikili*. He set the time for doing it and authorized his official matapule to gather materials and perform other necessary work. His wife, or, in the absence of a wife, the closest female representative, directed that part of the work to be done by women. If the dead was of matapule rank, the chief to whom that matapule owed allegiance directed the work as above, the actual managing, of course, being placed in the hands of an appointed matapule.

The following is an account of a recent interment of a woman of high rank, as witnessed by E. E. V. Collocott:

Mary Siliukitapu, widow of the late Premier Tukuaho, and mother of the Prince Consort Tungi, died on the 29th of July, 1921, and was buried Saturday, the 30th of July in the same grave with her late husband. When the time came for the body to be placed in the vault a large piece of tapa was put up as a screen so that none but the *haatufunga* could see into the grave and behold the remains of Tukuaho. A work song (*tauaalo*) was sung whilst the body was being placed in the grave.

A boy told me afterwards that he had assisted in the burial of a child related to Valu of Utulau. A vault in which a person had been previously buried was opened for the occasion. The boy said that he and others dug the sand off from the top of the vault, lifted the stone slab, and then retired to a distance, so as not to see into the vault. A *haatufunga* man alone was allowed to see the remains already there. When the covering slab was lifted he concealed these remains with tapa. He took the body of the dead child and put it in the grave.

Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker witnessed the opening of the vault in the Langi Olovehi at Hihifo, Lifuka Island, Haapai. The vault was in the form of a truncated pyramid with four sides. Its base was about 8 feet long, top about 5 feet long, and depth 4 feet, the stones which formed the sides were about 1 foot thick. The vault was covered by stone slabs about 2 feet thick and 7 feet square which overlapped its mouth. These stones were of a yellowish coral and had a level surface. The body of Tuita which was to be interred was wrapped in fine mats and tapa; it was lowered feet first into the vault, as the opening was too short to allow it being put straight down. Passed round the edge of the slab were ropes for moving it and these were pulled by men standing on the ground below the tomb, as they were not allowed to stand on the terrace, because of the tapu. Only

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PRIESTS AND POSSESSION

Tongan priests and priestesses suggest Turkic shamans, inasmuch as they become inspired by the gods, by lesser spirits, and by the spirits of the ancestors of chiefs or of recently deceased chiefs. The resemblance to the shamans applies particularly to those Tongan priests who became inspired by the spirits of deceased human beings, who, it was believed, came from Pulotu to convey to the living certain messages. The resemblance becomes even clearer when it is recalled that the Tongans apparently regard the spirits of chiefs and gods as being essentially alike. In fact, at the present time both gods and ghosts are called *tevolo*. The term *ulusino* refers to possession by a god or spirit. Baker defines *ulusino* as "to be possessed by evil spirits; to dwell in the body; to be one with man, applied to the gods."

If the spirit that manifested itself in a priest or priestess was of human origin, it was invariably that of a great chief, such as the Tui Tonga, rather than the spirit of a person of inferior rank. It is said that those mediums who became animated by the spirits of dead Tui Tonga had no special house of worship. They would seem not to have been regular priests who were already dedicated to the service of some god, but rather individuals who suddenly became inspired by the spirit of the deceased. Mariner (40) gives examples.

Tongan priests and priestesses further resemble shamans at least superficially, in their supposed ability to cure illness, not, of course, through their own unaided efforts but through their intercession with the gods. The sick and infirm were brought to the houses of these priests when the gods were besought to cure them. Sacrifices were offered and oracles obtained through the priest who became inspired by the god, the oracle usually foretelling the course and result of the illness.

Priesthood appears normally to have remained in particular families, and it appears that either men or women might become inspired. Priests are known by the terms *taula otua, taula eiki, taula tevolo* (devil), *toumama, faahikehe,* and apparently *feaa.* The word *toumama* means in general "the people or worshippers of any given god." The term *feaa* given by Farmer (23, p. 128) may be but an abbreviated form of *faahikehe,* a term also meaning god, spirit, ghost. Presumably *faahikehe* was applied only to a possessed priest.

Apparently it is permissible to regard the Tongan deities as somewhat in the nature of a North American shaman's familiar, except, of course, that the American shaman's familiar or guardian spirit does not actually enter him and speak through him. In Tonga it was impossible to obtain information about guardian spirits other than family gods.

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If a young girl is betrothed, or set apart to be the wife or concubine of a noble higher in rank than herself, she derives more respect on that account, independent of what is due to her own proper rank.

The women employ themselves (particularly nobles) in making a variety of articles, chiefly ornamental; these employments, however, are considered accomplishments, not professions: some of the higher class of women not only make these employments an amusement, but actually make a sort of trade of it, without prejudice to their rank; which is what the lower class of women could not do, because what *they* make is not their own property, but is done by the order of their superiors; the highest accomplishments cannot add to a woman's rank, though it does somewhat to the estimation in which she may be held, for such things, when well done, are honourable in a woman of rank. These things will be farther spoken of hereafter.

Children acquire their rank by inheritance, as before observed, from the mother's side: if she be not a noble they are not, and *vice versa*. If a man, however high his rank, were to have a child by a woman who is only a tooa, no matter whether they are married or not, (but indeed there is no instance of a noble marrying a tooa,) that child would not be a noble, though it were

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CHAPTER XXII.

000 General observations on the principal arts and manufactures—Canoe-building—Inlaying with ivory—Preparing graves—Constructing stone vaults—Net making—Fishing—House-building—Striking the tattow—Carving the handles of clubs—Shaving with shells—Cooking food—Enumeration of the principal made dishes—Making ropes; bows and arrows; clubs and spears—Manufacture of gnatoo, and mode of printing it—Making mats, baskets, combs, thread, &c.

463 462 THE next subject in order is the state of the arts and manufactures. We have already spoken as far as respectability is concerned, of those which constitute distinct professions, being for the most part hereditary*, and are all exercised by men: there are several other arts, however, some of which are practised by men, others by women, but which are not considered professional, as they do not constitute the business of a person's life; and the term *toofoonga*, (artizan), is consequently not applied to those who perform them: among these are principally the art of performing surgical operations; erecting

* See p. 87—91 of this volume.

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fortifications; making ropes, bows and arrows, clubs and spears, which are practised by men, whilst the manufacture of *gnatoo*, mats, baskets, thread, combs, &c., constitute the occasional employment of the women, even of those of rank. We shall give an account of each of the principal arts, beginning with those that are strictly professional.

Fo VACA, canoe-building. As it would be impossible to give an intelligible and accurate description of this ingenious and useful art, without referring to well-executed plates, and as this has been already so ably done in Cook's and d'Entrecasteaux's voyages, we presume it would be but an unnecessary intrusion upon the attention of the reader to attempt entering into such a description. It may here be noticed, however, that the Tonga people have obtained a considerable share of information in the art of building and rigging canoes, from the natives of the Fiji islands. It has already been observed, that, in all probability, the communication between these two nations, at the distance of one hundred and twenty leagues, began on the part of the Tonga people, who being situated to windward, it is very likely that one or more of their canoes were formerly drifted to the Fiji islands by stress of weather; and although they have no tradition of such a cir-

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463 462 Thus far with those arts that are strictly professional, and are practised by men; there are some others not professional, which are also exercised by men, viz. surgical operations, erecting fortifications, rope-making, and making bows and arrows, clubs and spears: the first has been treated of in Chap. 21, and for the second, see Vol. I. p. 90.

283 ROPE-MAKING. There are two kinds of rope, one made of the husk of the cocoa-nut, which is the superior sort, and the other of the inner bark of the *fow*. Although these ropes are made entirely by hand, yet even those of considerable circumference are laid with the greatest regularity: they are very elastic, and the strength of them is universally known. The husk of the cocoa-nut is first made into plait, which is then twisted into strands, and of these the rope is made. The bark of the *fow* is not first made into plait, but at once into strands.

719 [283] [237] BOWS AND ARROWS. The bows are generally made of the wood of the mangrove, though some few of the casuarina wood: the string is made of the inner bark of a tree they call *olongá*, and is exceedingly strong. The arrows are made of reed, headed with casuarina wood: some of these heads have three or four rows of barbs, and, to make them more formidable, are

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tipped with the bone of the sting ray. (See Vol. I. p. 278.)

CLUBS AND SPEARS. Though the making of these be not a distinct profession, yet they are most commonly manufactured by the *toofoonga fo vaca*, as being expert in the use of the *togi*. Their clubs are of various shapes; but specimens of them, as well as of their spears, may be seen in our museums.

The next arts to be spoken of are those practised by females, not so much as a task or labour, for women of rank often employ themselves this way, but as being their proper occupation. The most important of these is the

FABRICATION OF GNATOO. This substance is somewhat similar to cotton, but not woven, being rather of the texture of paper: it is prepared from the inner bark of the Chinese paper mulberry tree, and is used for dress and other purposes.

A circular incision being made round the tree near the root, with a shell deep enough to penetrate the bark, the tree is broken off at that part, which its slenderness readily admits of: when a number of them are thus laid on the ground, they are left in the sun a couple of days to become partially dry, so that the inner and outer bark may be stripped off together,

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of which serves for paste; but the mucilaginous substance of the *mahoá* root is sometimes substituted for it: at the same time others are busy scraping off the soft bark of the *coca* tree and the *tooi-tooi* tree, either of which when wrung out, without water, yields a reddish brown juice, to be used as a die. The *cobéchi*, or stamp is formed of the dried leaves of the *páoongo* sewed together so as to be of a sufficient size, and afterwards embroidered, according to various devices, with the wiry fibre of the cocoa-nut husk*; they are generally about two feet long, and a foot and a half broad: they are tied on to the convex side of half cylinders of wood, usually about six or eight feet long, to admit two or three similar operations to go on at the same time. The stamp being thus fixed, with the embroidered side uppermost, a piece of the prepared bark† is laid on it, and smeared over with a folded piece of *gnatoo* dipped in one of the reddish brown liquids before mentioned, so that the whole surface of the prepared bark becomes stained, but particularly those parts raised by the design in the stamp: another piece of

* Making these *cobechis* is another employment of the women, and mostly women of rank.

† The edges of the beaten bark, which is generally hard, knotty, and ragged, are cut off straight.

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287 shore, and the finishing operation of *toogi hea*
531 commences, or staining it in certain places with
[386] the juice of the *hea*, which constitutes a brilliant red varnish; this is done in straight lines along those places where the edges of the printed portions join each other, and serves to conceal the little irregularities there; also in sundry other places, in the form of round spots about an inch and a quarter in diameter: after this the *gnatoo* is exposed one night to the dew, and the next day being dried in the sun, it is packed up in bales to be used when required. When *gnatoo* is not printed or stained, it is called *tapa*.

287 They make also an inferior kind of *gnatoo* of
[764] the bark of young bread-fruit trees, which, however, is coarse, and seldom worn, but is chiefly used for various purposes at funerals.

[462] The whole of these operations are performed
565 by women: the embroidering of the *cobechis*,
413 or stamps, is always done by women of rank.
[391] In respect to mat and basket-making, they have mats of various kinds, made of strips of
285 leaves or bark selected, dried, and otherwise
[462] prepared; all of which, except one or two of a coarser kind, are fabricated by women. The following are the names and qualities of them.

[291] *Gnafi gnafi*, mats to wear, of a finer quality, made of the leaves of the *fa* or *paoongo*, that

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285 of the nut, and have rather the appearance of
415 wicker-work: the latter are sometimes variously
[531] stained and ornamented with beads or shells
[462] worked in. The larger and coarser baskets are generally made by men, to hold axes and other tools in: also the baskets used to hold victuals, made of the leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, are generally made by men.

285 *Bawlá*, mats for thatching houses, are either
[338] made by men or women, but more frequently by the former.

462 Most of these mats, baskets, &c. are made
565 by women of some rank as an amusing as well
[285] as profitable occupation, exchanging them af-
[436] terwards for other things: (See p. 95 of this volume). Making of combs, the teeth of which
[303] consist of the mid-rib of the cocoa-nut leaf, is also an employment of women of rank. Making
283 thread is an occupation of females of the lower
[462] order: it is performed by twisting the separate
[565] parts of the thread, in the act of rolling them with the palm of the hand along the thigh, and by a return of the hand, twisting them together the contrary way. The material of the thread is the prepared bark of the *olongá*.
413 Needles are generally made by carpenters out
247 of human thigh bones, which are procured from
727 their enemies slain in battle: the only use they
396 have for them is to make sails.

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that young superior chiefs have, for the most part, old matabooles, and, as they grow older, they begin to have younger matabooles, who succeed their deceased fathers.

In respect to the *tooas*, they may be subdivided into three ranks, viz. those few who are warriors, and are part of the *cow-tangata* of chiefs; those who are professed cooks, in the service of chiefs; and those who till the ground: The latter live entirely in the country with their wives and families, and occupy themselves wholly in cultivating the land: their wives and daughters make gnatoo, mats, &c., but never till the ground, nor do any hard work.

The natives of Fiji, Hamoa, and the Sandwich islands, who were resident at Tonga, used to say that it was not a good practice of the people of the latter place to let their women lead such easy lives; the men, they said, had enough to do in matters of war, &c. and the women ought therefore to be made to work hard and till the ground: no, say the Tonga men, it is not *gnale fafine* (consistent with the feminine character) to let them do hard work; women ought only to do what is feminine: who loves a masculine woman? besides, men are stronger, and therefore it is but proper that they should do the hard labour. It seems to be a peculiar trait in the character of the Tonga

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people, when compared with that of the other natives of the South Seas*, and with savage nations in general, that they do not consign the heaviest cares and burdens of life to the charge of the weaker sex; but, from the most generous motives, take upon themselves all those laborious or disagreeable tasks which they think inconsistent with the weakness and delicacy of the softer sex. Thus the women of Tonga, knowing how little their own sex in other islands are respected by the men, and how much better they themselves are treated by their countrymen, and feeling at the same time, from this and other causes, a patriotic sentiment, joined to their natural reserve, seldom associate with foreigners. Thus when the Port au Prince arrived at the Sandwich islands, the ship was crowded with women ready to barter their personal favours for any trinkets they could obtain; but how different at Lefooga! where only one woman came on board, and she was one of the lower order, who was in a manner obliged to come by order of a native, to

* If there is any exception to this in the South Seas, it is with the natives of Otaheite, but there neither men nor women work hard: the natives of the latter place appear altogether a soft effeminate race, strongly addicted to voluptuous habits; whilst in Tonga the men are of a more noble and manly character, and the women considerably more reserved.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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with them to some distant part of the island; and whilst an entertainment is preparing for them at the plantation of some friend or relation, they amuse themselves at some game, or, perhaps, in inspecting the building of a canoe, or a large house, or examining the state of the plantations; or in sailing about, if near the sea, or in fishing; or in practising dancing and singing. In these excursions the unmarried women generally accompany them. The married women, and those who choose to stay at the *mooa*, in the mean time employ themselves in one or other of the occupations suitable to their sex, or, if their husbands make an excursion to another island, they usually take a trip with them. The very young girls are generally employed in the early part of the day in making wreaths of flowers, which they have been out to gather in the morning before sun rise, while the dew was yet on them; for, being plucked at that time, they remain longer fresh.

Sometimes they amuse themselves with walking near Licoo * where there are many romantic spots; at Vavaoo for instance they often visit the cave of Tootawi and the beach of Mo-

* Licoo is the name given to the back or unfrequented part of any island, which is generally bold and rocky, and not fitted for the entrance of canoes. Some parts of the Licoo at Vavaoo were particularly romantic.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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tigued with walking, or any other exercise, he lies down, and some of his attendants come and perform one of the three following operations upon him, viz. *toogi-toogi*, *mili*, or *fota*, i. e. being gently beaten upon, or having the skin rubbed, or having it compressed: these several operations are generally performed about the feet and legs; the first by constant and gentle beating with the fist; the second by rubbing with the palm of the hand; and the last by compressing or grasping the integuments with the fingers and thumb. They all serve to relieve pain, general lassitude, and fatigue; they are mostly performed by the wives or female domestics of the party; and it is certain that they give very great ease, producing a soothing effect upon the system, and lulling to sleep. Headach is found to be greatly relieved by compressing the skin of the forehead and the scalp in general. Sometimes, when a man is much fatigued, he will lie on the ground whilst three or four little children trample upon him all over; and the relief given by this operation is very great.

Such is the history of the politics, religion, and knowledge,—and the manners, customs, and habits of the people of the Tonga islands; and all that remains now to be done is to furnish an account of their language: for this pur-

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

STORIES

INTRODUCTION

The Tongan is an incurable conversationalist. He is a fine orator, and a critical judge of public speaking, equally gifted in conversation. Sociable, humorous, keen-witted, he is admirable in the give-and-take of conversation and banter. A joke is rewarded with peals of laughter. An oddity is summed up in a pointed phrase. Tongans are keen and swift judges of character. A salient feature in the stranger's appearance or character is quickly seized upon. These people have a strong vein of satiric humor which soon strips off a man's disguises; but is not unkindly, and is equally ready to do justice to his virtues. Intelligent and interested in the great world, they welcome into the circle of conversation the foreigner, or the native who has travelled or is able to read the newspapers, and relish his accounts of lands and events outside their own little kingdom.

In ordinary social intercourse, no less than on great ceremonial occasions, the Tongan is remarkable for his dignified courtesy. The lowest born, as well as the chief, has a refinement of manners, which is without servility, and makes his behavior free from embarrassment, even in the presence of the highest chiefs. It is safe to venture the guess that a badly behaved Tongan has spent much time in one of the European settlements. Tongan social usages are strict in their demands, and this unembarrassed correctness of behavior, free from shyness or effrontery, is not a little striking. The foreigner who has spent many happy years with these people must not omit to express his appreciation of the kindly forbearance, not unmixed with amusement—for the Tongan cannot resist a joke—with which the social lapses of the stranger are overlooked, nor the frequent invitation to dispense with some usage which might be irksome to him.

Story-telling is largely in the domain of the older women. The general term for a tale is *fananga*. An institution like the Maori colleges, *whare whananga* (custodians of sacred lore), seems not to have existed among the Tongans. The stories in this work, and in Gifford's Tongan Myths and Tales (22) are *fananga*. It will be seen that the subjects of many are the old gods and kindred topics; but the compositions of a modern novelist would also be *fananga*. A name applied especially to tales of the old gods, creation myths, and the like, is *tala tupua*, which seems to mean either tale of the long ago or tale of mysterious powers, the divine, supernatural. There is a scrap of verse which may possibly refer to prize-giving for story-telling.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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422 former produce " rent " or tribute is now paid in tax money.
651 Present day security of occupancy is probably for many
427 Tongan commoners greater than formerly when the will or
178 caprice of a high official was the only fiat that counted. But in general, the villager has the same type of occupancy-status claim to his land and its produce as he had under the old system of Tongan land ownership and feudal control.

Division of Labour

462 [621] As with all other peoples, the villager organizes according to a fairly definite pattern in order to get various types of work done. There is a major division of labour within the village on the basis of sex. This division is outlined in Table 1.

Table 1.—Division of Labour

Work of Men	Work of Women
Cultivation: preparation of land, planting, hoeing, harvesting.	Cultivation and copra-making (when help is needed).
Bringing food, firewood, copra from bush to village.	House-cleaning, clothes washing, sewing, care of children.
Collecting, husking coconuts, copra-making.	Coconut oil making, preparation of cigarette wrapping leaf.
Feeding animals, butchering, preparation of ovens.	Preparation of food for ovens, cooking.
House-building, thatching.	*Kava* making.
Canoe building.	Bark cloth manufacture.
Sea fishing, reef fishing by spearing, netting.	Plaiting of fine mats, baskets, fans, roof mats, wall screens.
Care of dead bodies, undertaking.	Reef fishing, collecting of shell fish, seaweeds, edible reef creatures.
Leadership in religious activities.	Collecting stones for ornamenting graves.
Experts in bone-setting, medicines.	Preparation of medicines; giving medical advice.

Men are generally responsible for agricultural activities, women for domestic duties in the household, including mat-making, bark cloth making, and *kava*-making. Men carry on the more arduous types of fishing, while women confine themselves to fishing over the shallow waters of the reefs. Men prepare the ovens for cooking, women generally prepare the food that goes into the ovens. Care of dead bodies and leadership in religious activities are left to the men, while both men and women participate in native medical practices.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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This pattern of division is not a hard and fast one in all its aspects. For some of the activities the division is fixed. Thus one would certainly not expect any Pangai woman to function as an undertaker or as a church-pastor. It would also be rare for a woman to work on the building of a house frame or assist in the making of a canoe. Similarly no man would attempt to plait mats or make bark cloth. He would make *kava* only if it was impossible to find an available girl or woman when he and his friends were craving for *kava* to drink. The pattern is most flexible in regard to agriculture and cooking. Women are primarily the cooks in Pangai. But men spending all day in their plantations will often pause to make an oven and bake food for themselves, particularly if other men are present and helping them. On feast-occasions also, men and women work together with food preparation. Similarly, cultivation is mainly left to the men. Women help whenever their help is needed. Sometimes they may even do all the cultivation for the household should it be necessary. Thus Fakataha's husband was suffering from a long bout of filarial fever which kept him in his house. His children were all young. Fakataha spent day after day in the plantation doing all the rough work of clearing land, planting, and hoeing. She was sometimes assisted by her two eldest sons. Villagers admired the way she worked although they thought her unfortunate. On the other hand, Biukala, somewhat sophisticated with European ideals, was proud of the fact that his wife occupied herself entirely with domestic work and rarely left the house-lot. He felt that many village women showed interest in men's activities merely as an excuse for gadding about the bush or the village when they would be much better and more safely employed with domestic tasks.

Daily Routine

For fourteen days during the month of January, nineteen Pangai men and two Pangai women kept a daily record of their chief activities. From this consecutive record it is possible to get a rough idea of how the villager fills his day with work and play (or better, with work and non-working activities—the concept of play is not one that the villager could easily master).

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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512 could easily master). From these records the accompanying tables have been abstracted showing a seven-day routine for a man and a woman and a one-day routine for ten men. The 512 462 461 routine for one man is given first in the following table:

TABLE 2.—DAILY ROUTINE FOR ONE MAN

DAY	MORNING	AFTERNOON	EVENING
Monday	Hoed garden all morning.	Boiled and ate food in bush. Slept in bush. Returned with food.	Ate. Drank *kava*.
Tuesday	Fed animals. Planted *kape*. Gathered firewood. Hoed garden.	Ate food. Worked for friend planting *taro* all afternoon.	Bathed. Ate. Slept.
Wednesday	To bush for coconuts, food. Prepared oven. Drank *kava*. Ate.	Hoed in garden.	Bathed. Ate. Slept.
Thursday	Boiled food, ate. Talked with friends.	Hoed gardens.	Bathed. Visited, Drank *kava*.
Friday	Fished. Ate. Drank *kava*. Prepared church lesson.	Hoed garden. Went to church.	Visited. Slept.
Saturday	Boiled food. Bush for firewood, food. Ate.	Slept. Worked in garden.	Bathed. Ate. Drank *kava*.
Sunday	Church. Prepared food. Cleaned *kava* roots. Church. Ate.	Drank *kava*. Church Slept.	Church. Ate. Visited. Slept.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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TABLE 3.—WORK FOR ONE DAY

NAME	MORNING		AFTERNOON		EVENING
	EARLY	LATE	EARLY	LATE	
Biukala	*Fono* meeting. Worked in bush. Ate boiled food.	Read. Slept until noon.	Hoed garden.	Church.	Visited. Ate. Played *lafo.*[9] Slept.
Tui	Fed chickens, pigs. Fetched food from bush. Went to Nciafu.	Bagged copra	Bagged copra.	Hoed garden.	Bathed. Ate. Slept.
Betelo	*Fono* meeting. Drank *kava* all morning.		Bush for food.	Cooked food.	Slept.
Lole	Ate cold food. Hoed garden.		Returned from bush.	Drank *kava.*	*Kava* party till 3 a.m.
Benny K.	Bush for food. *Kava* for visitor. Ate.	Prepared church-lesson.	Read Bible.	Church.	Played *lafo.* Ate. Slept.
Tevita	Bush for food. *Kava* for visitors. Prepared feast.		*Kava* all afternoon.	Ate feast.	Slept.
Potemani	Bush for food. Boiled, ate food.	Planted pineapples for friend.	Hoed garden.	Slept in bush.	Visited. Slept.
Beni F.	*Fono* meeting. Hoed garden.	Prepared bush oven.	Ate in bush.	Visiting. Church.	Drank *kava.*
Moala	*Fono* meeting. Cooked food. Slept.	Ate food.	Drank *kava.*	Church.	Drank *kava.*
Tuipulotu	Boiled food.	Hoed garden.	Slept.	Planted *taro.*	Visited. Ate. Slept.

The degree of uniformity in the work of ten different men on one day is shown by Table 3 below:

[9] The game of *lafo* is played by tossing coconut shell discs from one end of a mat to the other. Sets of discs for this game are hard to find in the village; there are two sets only among all the householders. They are in consequence highly valued and cherished. The game is infrequently played but greatly enjoyed when played. Formerly, the game was played only by chiefs, and commoners "caught playing this game . . . would be punished, perhaps even with death," according to Gifford (*Tongan Society*, p. 117). The fact that the game is played at all today by commoners is a good measure of some of the internal changes that have been going on within Tongan culture. The only reason why the game is not more frequently played seems to be group inertia. The coconut discs could be easily made if the desire to play were present.

512 462 551 461 [524] [585] [581]

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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Pangai

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The daily activities of one woman are shown in the next table:

TABLE 4.—DAILY ROUTINE FOR ONE WOMAN

DAY	MORNING		AFTERNOON		EVENING
	EARLY	LATE	EARLY	LATE	
Monday	Boiled food. Prepared materials for mat-making.		Plaited a mat till dark.		Slept. Visited. Slept. Ate.
Tuesday	Boiled food. To bush for *papaia*.	Prepared oven.	Washed clothes. Ate.	Plaited.	Made *kava*. Slept.
Wednesday	Planted bananas, *taro*.	Collected copra nuts.	Boiled food. Ate. Washed clothes.		Made *kava*. Slept.
Thursday	Ironed clothes. Boiled food.	Rested.	Hoed yams for sick husband.		Rested. Visited. Slept.
Friday	Boiled food. Made oven.	Made *kava*. Washed clothes.	Hoed yams, *taro*.	Cooked.	Cleaned house. Slept.
Saturday	Reef fishing all morning.		Sewed dress.	Boiled food.	Made *kava*. Slept.
Sunday	Prepared oven. Church.	Ate. Rested.	Church. Ate.	Visiting.	Church. Visiting.

These routines are really routines. Most of the men spend both morning and afternoon working in their bush-gardens. There are exceptions to this when visitors arrive, when it is necessary to prepare church-lessons (in the case of a lay-preacher), when one has been up late the night before drinking *kava* so that a morning sleep is imperative, or when one may work in Neiafu, or finally, when one's garden work is sufficiently advanced that one may use afternoon time for *kava* drinking. The men spend their evenings sleeping or visiting or drinking *kava*. This routine is kept up from day to day, broken only by an occasional visit to another village, by a feast or a holiday season such as Christmas. Sometimes, as in the particular week abstracted in Table 3, one day may be started with a meeting *(fono)* of the men called by the village-overseer.* This meeting considered the state of the gardens after a few days of heavy rain and wind had played havoc with the banana-trees. Plans were made at this time for the replanting of banana-trees.

The work of the woman is equally of a routine nature: mat-making, preparing food, washing clothes, reef-fishing, sewing, house-cleaning, *kava*-making for the men of the household and their male visitors, and occasional days in the gardens cultivating and planting if the husband is sick. The particular woman whose week is abstracted in Table 4 had no infants or young children in her household. Had there been infants she would have kept closer to the village caring for her young children.

For both men and women, Sunday is a day of rest, sleep, and church-going. The men generally spend resting hours either sleeping or drinking *kava*. For the children, Sundays are hard to bear. They are not supposed to play but to rest quietly and act decorously. By evening there is so much pent-up energy among the children that they are past the wit or discipline of any adult to control.

* The Tongan *fono* council is not so much a council in the sense of a deliberative body. Rather is it a group of men assembled to hear the orders or suggestions or plans of such superiors as chief, noble, government representative. In Pangai the village overseer uses the *fono* to advise the village men of his suggestions and orders or of the orders of the government representatives in Neiafu.

A, B, [See category 116, pp. 23-24--Analyst]

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

present population of Tongatabu. Since that time the population has been either stationary or decreasing—slightly under normal circumstances, rapidly in time of epidemic. In 1893 the measles and the diseases consequent upon it carried off one-twentieth of the people. In the absence of such severe visitations whooping-cough is the most destructive of the introduced diseases. The mothers lack the knowledge and the self-devotion required to successfully nurse their children through such illnesses, and content themselves with calling in one native quack after another to dose the unfortunate child with a succession of nostrums until death puts an end to its sufferings.

For the low birth-rate there are several reasons. In ancient times the women were required to do no work beyond the light occupations of fishing and cloth-beating. The men planted the food, carried in the wood and water, and did the cooking. The missionaries have so industriously cultivated the idea of family life that in most Tongan households the women, after marriage, do the same work as the wives of the peasantry in Europe. In other respects they have greater liberty than under the heathen system. Formerly a girl's hair was cropped short at about twenty, and she was thenceforward classed as an old woman (*fefine motua*). No woman of mature age could then masquerade in the guise of a young girl, and there was no inducement to defer marriage and the cares of maternity; for the woman who aspired to be younger than her years had no peace from the sneers of her contemporaries. This is all changed. Under the grim social code of the missionaries, by a mockery of fate, a laxer

20: Gifford E-5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

Native grown tobacco is smoked in Tonga rolled in pieces of dried banana leaf. These cigarettes seem to be relished more than imported ready-made cigarettes. Tongan school children are thoroughly grounded in the fact that smoking is an American-Indian invention. Its transmission to Tonga and the rest of the world they associate with the name of Christopher Columbus.

Not every foreign trait in modern Tongan culture has been absorbed with as little harm as tobacco. Cricket is one in point. With such fervor was cricket playing undertaken that it became necessary some decades ago to pass laws restricting the playing of the game to certain days of the week.

Horse racing, too, is a favourite pastime and even some remote islands now have race courses.

The dynamiting of fish became so prevalent some years ago that it was necessary to prohibit the use of the explosive for this purpose. Fishing has fallen somewhat into abeyance in certain localities and it is not uncommon for Tongans to buy fish from enterprising Japanese and Caucasian fishermen.

The introduction of cloth has given rise to two new feminine occupations; sewing, often with a machine; and washing. Tapa, the native substitute for cloth, is unwashable. Clothes washing was given a further impulse by the enactment of a law compelling all individuals to wear shirts in public. The lower garment is still the vala or rectangular cloth worn as a skirt. To-day it is of textile material. Shoes are not worn except by the well-to-do.

The police costume is of interest; barefeet, white vala, blue or white coat, and broad-brimmed felt hat.

Speaking of the vala or rectangular cloth wound about the waist as a skirt, it should be noted that the proper length for a gentleman is half-way between the knee and ankle. Shorter valas are worn by cooks. In Samoa valas are worn short. I once heard a Tongan chief remark derisively of the Samoans that "they wear their valas like cooks." I have also heard the Samoans spoken of as barbarians because they have no water closets, which in Tonga are required by law.

Tongans eat with their fingers seated cross-legged on mats with the food before them on other mats. Europeans

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

Islands as they do in Fiji; nor is so much time and care bestowed upon their capture by the Tonguese. This may be accounted for by the fact, that, in former times, none but chiefs were permitted to capture, or, at all events, to partake of turtle. Even now the Tonguese law is, that one half of all turtles caught, by any person, shall be taken to the ruling chief of the place, as the king's representative, while the remainder falls to the lot of the fisherman. The same law applies also to the capture of the albicore, bonito, and a few other of the larger and rarer fish.

In conclusion, we may remark, upon this department of native resources and habits, that the prosecution of fishing is confined to the male sex; while the work of *fagota*, or shell-fishing, is mainly assigned to the women.

Like many of the Polynesian groups, these islands are entirely free from noxious snakes and serpents; nor are there any frogs or toads, such as are very common in the adjacent Fijian archipelago.

There is, however, a genuine sea-serpent, of harmless character, called by the Tonguese the *tukuhali*. It often leaves the sea that it may bask in the sun among the grass, and low shrubbery, skirting the shore. Its motion, both in the water and upon the land, is that of the true serpent species. It has nothing answering to the fins of the eel family. It is of a bluish-white colour, variegated by white and black stripes or rings, extending, at regular and close intervals, over the whole length of its body. The largest specimen we have seen would measure six feet in length, with a diameter of not more than an inch and a

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

from whence their fighting excursions were made. In besieging such places, they well understood the method of approaching by trenches, and rifle-pits, defended by earthworks and strong stockades. They were also well versed in the science of strategy, and knew no mercy to the vanquished who fell into their hands. The contending parties seldom met in a general engagement. The strife was usually a series of skirmishes. Those taken in war, whose lives were spared, became the *bobulas*, or slaves, of the conquerors; and these were often treated with the most refined and horrible cruelty, at the caprice of their proprietor.

In times of peace, the men were fully occupied in the various pursuits of agriculture, fishing, sinnet-plaiting, canoe and house building, and, above all, in voyaging. The women devoted themselves to the unceasing manufacture of the *fetaaki*, or white beaten bark, of which the native cloth was made, and to the completion of the process in those *kokaagas*, or united gatherings of the female sex, where the cloth was fashioned into one immense piece, and then printed in brown and black colours, according to the fancy of the maker. The women did no field or house drudgery in the Friendly Islands. They never even cooked the victuals of the family, that being always the duty of the men. In addition to the manufacture of *gatu*, or native cloth, their chief work was to bring water from the wells; make all the sleeping and wearing mats for both sexes; also baskets and bags for various purposes, and any other little nick-nacks for household use. Feasts, dances, games, wrestling matches, and canoe races, filled up much of the time of the people. Some of these

31: Nayacakalou E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1959
OU9 Tonga OU9

on a section of it, always on the understanding that the holder has the right to demand it back after the crop is taken out. No rights other than those of cultivation accrue to the borrower. Although such an arrangement involves definitely no rent in money or in kind, it is advantageous to the allotment holder in that the section so lent is thereby kept free from weeds and heavy undergrowth.[30] The fact that no rent is involved actually strengthens the hand of the holder when he demands his land back. As far as rights to land are concerned, the same principles apply when a man uses part of the *api* legally held by his brother, or when a number of brothers use the *api* of their father.

Individual land holders can call upon several types of *work groups* to assist them in working their land. The most important work group is the household which, under the leadership of the head of household, performs most of the day-to-day tasks of cultivation. Its importance lies in its relative permanence. For while the other work groups considered below come into operation only in connection with the heaviest tasks such as clearing and occasionally planting, and therefore tend to be relatively impermanent, the household deals with the constantly recurring need for weeding and other minor tasks, and is the only unit which can engage in long term planning on the basis of its own self-interest. It is the basic unit of production and consumption; and its members are bound together by common interests which transcend the economic sphere. Its significance needs no further elaboration. But beyond this unit, three other types of work group are found: the *tou ngaue*, the *kautaha* and the *tou lalaga*.

The *tou ngaue* is a working party which may comprise anything from two or three men to about eight or nine, the members of which work co-operatively for each of the members in turn. The members are not fed by the person for whom they are working as in the case of Pangai reported by the Beaglehole,[31] but each feeds himself and then goes back to work. In this way they achieve the ends which demand co-operative work, but avoid the encumbrance of preparing food for others. At the time of my investigation, there were three *tou ngaue* in the village under investigation. Their memberships were 3, 5, and 8 men respectively.

Kinship does not appear to play an important part in the formation of these groups. While there are occasional *tou ngaue* which have a large proportion of members who are kin, the principle of kinship does not specifically enter into the definition of the *tou ngaue* as such. When asked whom he would choose to be members of his *tou ngaue*, a man once replied, "My friends". But when pressed further to define what he meant by "friends", he said, "Those who work hard on my plantation". "Would you choose your brothers or close relatives particularly?" "No". The relationship seems therefore to be a purely economic one.

[30] The sort of arrangement involved in the work group known as the *tou tu'u* described by the Beagleholes is particularly interesting in this regard, Beaglehole 1941:33-34.

[31] Beaglehole 1941:32.

31. Nayacakalou E-4,5, (1957-1958) 1959
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The *kautaha* is described by one informant as a "big society". It is formed for a specific purpose and joined by men interested in achieving this purpose. One example would make the matter clear. In one village I visited there was a *kautaha* with a membership of about 40 men, comprising the majority of the adult males in the village, which was formed for the purpose of extending banana plantations. The overall target was that each member should have 1,000 banana shoots planted strictly for himself by a certain day in December; and once this overall aim was agreed upon, they split themselves up into four *tou ngaue* of 9 or 10 members each for the purpose of actually doing the work on the land. While the *kautaha* as a whole was interested in the progress of its members towards the target, the actual organisation of work was left to the various *tou ngaue*: these were the media through which the members ensured that their own bananas were planted. A lot of hard work was carried out in clearing the bush and planting the shoots, and on the appointed day the leading members of the *kautaha* did a complete tour of the plantations of each member to ensure formally for the *kautaha* that the bananas had actually been planted. It was an almost ceremonial affair, ending with the consumption of an elaborate feast.

The *tou lalaga* is the women's work group formed for the making of *tapa* cloth. The task of joining together pieces of beaten bark into large pieces of *tapa* cloth is a laborious one requiring the labour of many hands, and for this purpose women would call upon their friends to come and help. The friends in their turn would call on their own friends, and in the end 50 or more women may be involved. In this case the women are fed by the owner of the *tapa* cloth.

7—Kinship and Land Use

There are two important ways in which fully autonomous households may be connected with one another through use of the land which they work. In the first place, when land is short and a number of families have to go without, they can usually make do by sharing the use of the *api* of others or by using the *api* of those who are away from the village. In the second place, a group of brothers or of a father and his sons, although living in separate households and owning separate *api* at law, may combine together their entire holdings and work them as a single unit. In the village under study there were two clear-cut cases of this sort. In each case the *api* concerned were contiguous, and clearing, at which the men concerned worked together, ranged from one *api* into the next. Copra was certainly produced jointly and the proceeds controlled by the senior member; but I am uncertain whether food gardens were individually owned.

In both cases, kinship is an important factor in the alignment of households. Of the 19 households that share the use of the *api* of others in the village under study, 10 share with related households and 9 share with unrelated ones. Of the 9 that share with unrelated households, 5 have no relatives in the village anyway, leaving only 4 which

532 evidence of idolatry and heathenism. Whereas wood
177 carving had been done previously with adzes or tools made of shell or tooth, local artisans became attracted to the more highly perfected metal instruments of the foreigners. Strongly influenced by materialism and other characteristics of western civilization, the Tongans abandoned the majority of their former artistic activities, and consequently, the
462 entire realm of Tongan art has suffered. For the
287 most part, only the arts of women (e.g. tapa making,
285 basket and mat weaving) have survived up to the present day in Tonga.[7]

341 Tongan architecture has obviously been
342 influenced by contact with the west; rafter lashing
177 with hand-braided sennit is rarely to be seen any more, and it is not uncommon to find Tongan
283 houses today with corrugated iron roofs.
284 Hand-carved war clubs and other weapons, as well as
411 the skillfully-designed double canoes, have been
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[P.16-A]

592 take care of (tauhi) them (the old couple)".

511 597 Besides expenditures for everyday material needs, a household must have the cash for periodic outlays to pay

592 511 434 members' expenses such as income taxes, the annual poll tax on every male over the age of fifteen, church contributions, and schooling expenses for the children, as well as to buy store-bought goods such as clothing and

[454] fabric, households utensils, and other implements. Such purchases and expenditures generally require relatively large cash outlays that are seldom provided for through systematic savings. Instead, members of the household make a special effort to assemble the money shortly

[655] before it is needed. Men collect coconuts to make copra,

[432] or else sell the undried coconuts directly to the Tonga

[462] Copra Board, while women prepare handicrafts for sale

[245] to tourists (especially the tourists who flood in on the periodic one-day stopovers of cruise ships that visit

[215] Tonga). There is noticably more copra-making activity and also a particularly well-stocked handicrafts bazaar in the weeks preceding a new school term, when money is needed for books, uniforms, and school fees. Usually, people try to make more money than is needed for the major outlay at hand. What is left is doled out to provide cash for everyday needs until another major effort is made.

592 511 476 621 Finally, a household must have the means for its

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

> Although . . . the language of kinship plays a dominating role in the expression of social relationships, social behaviour is not constrained by the prior existence of kinship corporations. It is not so much that the Sinhalese order their economic lives in accord with kinship relations as that their kinship relations are an expression of the way in which they order their economic lives (1960:123).

The resources available to the Tongan household must be sufficient to provide for three types of expenditures: expenditures for everyday material needs, periodic cash outlays, and contributions of goods and labor on ceremonial occasions.

The everyday material needs of a household consist mainly of foodstuffs and fuel, along with petty cash for such items as bus fares, matches, and soap. Foodstuffs and fuel are derived mainly from locally cultivated subsistence products. (There must, of course, be labor available to prepare and make use of these products, hence the need for human capital). Everyday foodstuffs that are purchased include bread, flour, sugar, salt, tea, cocoa, and dried milk. The frequency and amounts of such purchases varies mainly according to how much cash is available.

A household must also have the cash for periodic outlays to pay members' expenses, such as income taxes, the annual poll tax on every male over the age of 15, church contributions, and schooling expenses for the children, as well as to buy store-bought goods such as clothing and fabric, household utensils, and other implements. Such purchases and expenditures generally require relatively large cash outlays, which are seldom provided for through systematic savings. Instead, members of the household make a special effort to assemble the money shortly before it is needed. Men collect coconuts and make copra or else sell the coconuts directly to the Tonga Copra Board, while women prepare handicrafts for sale to tourists. There is noticeably more copra-making activity and also a well-stocked handicrafts bazaar in the weeks preceding a new school term, when money is needed for books, uniforms and school fees. Usually, people try to make more money than is needed for the major outlay at hand, with whatever is left being doled out to provide cash for everyday needs until another major effort is made.

Finally, a household must have the means for its members to make adequate contributions of goods and labor on a wide range of ceremonial occasions that occur at irregular intervals throughout the year: feasts, funerals, weddings, and so forth. There is a class of goods called *koloa* ("treasure") that come into play only on ceremonial occasions; these consist mainly of finely woven mats of various kinds (*kie, fihu,* and *ngafingafi*) and printed tapa-cloth (*ngatu*). *Koloa,* which is amassed through manufacture by women of the household or through

49: Rogers A-4,5 (no date) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9

GARTH ROGERS

Systematic development of agricultural resources was the prime concern of Tonga's first development plan (1965–1970), the main effort and spending being allocated to a comprehensive Coconut Replanting Scheme. Banana exports to New Zealand and Japan have fluctuated although they have gradually increased throughout the 1960s. But other agricultural exports—such as watermelons, fungus, groundnuts, pineapples, vegetables and ginger—comprise only a very small fraction of the total exports. Other crops are either completely absorbed by home consumption or are, as yet, only in an experimental stage.

A fishing industry has been established in Nuku'alofa with the aid of Japanese experts but in 1968 it was barely supplying the home market. Local private fishermen would sell a string of small fresh fish, in all about three to four pounds, for about fifty *seniti* (NZ50c). Fish was sold in the government market at intervals of about two weeks but the supply rarely lasted more than one day. Tuna and shark caught by the government vessel were refrigerated in the government market and sold for ten and four *seniti* per pound respectively. Labourers' wages at that time in Nuku'alofa were one *pa'anga* (100 *seniti*) per day. By early 1969 small shipments of crayfish tails were being transhipped to the United States via Fiji by an Australian fisherman who owned his own craft but employed local Ha'apai labour.

* * *

A very high proportion (75.57% or 57,526) of the total Tongan population was classified in the 1966 census as "economically inactive", that is, as persons not engaged in any form of "industry" ranging from subsistence agriculture to public service. Included in this category were 16,308 or 81.3% of all adult Tongan women who were engaged in "home duties", all children under fifteen years of age, and all who were students over fifteen years or retired. It should be understood, however, that women perform some important economic tasks such as assistance with food-gathering and copra-making. Moreover, according to the traditional division of labour in Tonga, women make mats, baskets and bark-cloth as part of their "home duties". Nevertheless, only 1,013 or 5.0% of adult Tongan women were engaged in activities other than these.[7] No Tongan women were listed as employed in "government and administration" (excluding government clerks); 607 or 3.02% of all adult Tongan women (compared with 1,715 Tongan males) were listed as employed in "services" (religious, educational, medical, personal; not transport); 173 or 0.86% (compared with 180 Tongan males) in "commerce"; and only 18 or 0.089% (compared with 579 Tongan males) in "part-manufacturing and processing" industries.[8] In Tonga, the traditional idea and practice that man is the provider and head of the household still persists.

7. TONGA, 1968: Table 12b, 72–74.
8. In 1961, 9.5% of all adult Western Samoan women were classified as "economically active" (excluding "village agriculture"); 7.9% of all adult women, mainly the 15–29 age-group, were engaged in "industry" of one sort or another. The 1966 Cook Island census (pp. 5, 55) lists 1,620 adult Cook Island women or 35.4% of all adult females as "economically active" of whom 1,032 resided in Rarotonga. Cook Island women engaged in manufacturing numbered 301 (compared with

49: Rogers A-4,5 (no date) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9

REPORT ON THE RESULTS OF THE 1966 CENSUS

Of the 20,766 Tongan males over fifteen, 17,686 or 85.17% were listed as being employed in some "industry". 13,219 or 74.74% of these were recorded as being self-employed in "agricultural production for household consumption and export". This represents a rise over ten years of 3,483 persons or 35.77% in this category, but unfortunately the category includes all those without regular or specific occupation, that is, no attempt was made in the 1966 census to differentiate self-employed from unemployed, nor those with title to land from those who have no title but are growing subsistence crops on someone else's land; it is difficult therefore to quantify pressures on land and the *'api* system.

* * *

The Tonga land tenure system is unique in Polynesia and is the result of laws enacted over a hundred years ago by the founder of modern Tonga, King George Tupou I. Every male Tongan is entitled, on reaching the age of sixteen years, to receive a grant of eight and a quarter acres as an *'api tukuhau* 'tax allotment', and a grant of up to one rood twenty-four perches in a village or town as an *'api kolo* 'town allotment'. No one may legally hold more than one tax and one village allotment, but if a person forgoes the latter he may obtain under the law, a bush lot of up to twelve and three-eighths acres, that is, one and a half times the usual size of an *'api tukuhau.* The annual tax on tax and village allotments together is eighty *seniti* (NZ80c); tenure is for life and is usually reallocated to the eldest son.[9] These laws have created a nation of small but secure tenant farmers alongside a landed aristocracy. The head of every family or household in Tonga, irrespective of his rank or wealth, has thus until very recently been assured of the means of production both of basic necessities such as food and housing, and of cash crops both for purchasing clothing, tools, household goods, and for education. With shortage of land, and the strain traditional housing puts on coconut trees, housing is passing from subsistence to the monetary economy.

According to the Report of the Lands and Survey Department for 1966 (p. 2), the total number of tax allotment holders in December of that year was 12,517. The 1966 census records that only 8,305 or 41.57% of all Tongan males over sixteen said that they were holding tax allotments, whilst 11,553 or 57.84% reported that they held no land (p. 96). Some 116 men over sixteen did not state their position regarding land but even if they all had held tax allotments, 4,096 of the allotment-holders recorded in the Report of the Lands and Survey Department would remain unaccounted for. However, some of the Lands and Survey allotment-holders would undoubtedly be widows holding their husband's allotments as a life interest,[10] or the sole surviving daughters of the deceased land holder.[11] The number of widows recorded in the 1966 census was 1,552 but it is not stated how many of them were holding the lands of their

301 males), in services 539 (compared with 737 males), professional, technical and related workers 321 (compared with 412 males).

9. Tonga, 1948:405–459. "The Land Act". Annual poll tax, $T3.20, is paid by all adult Tongan males, whether landholders or not.
10. Tonga 1948:427–8.
11. Tonga 1948:428.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

cylindrical bits of ivory[1] about three inches long, introduc'd at one hole and brought out at the other, or bits of reed of the same size fill'd with a yellow pigment which seems to be a fine powder of turmeric, with which the women sometimes rub themselves all over in the same manner that our ladys use their dry rouge upon the cheeks. Nothing seems to give them greater pleasure than personal cleanliness, to procure which they frequently bathe in the ponds which seem to serve no other purpose. They prefer these to the sea, though most of them stink intolerably, because the water is a little fresher and they are so sensible that salt water hurts their skin that when necessity obliges them to bathe in the sea they have commonly some Cocoa nut shells of fresher water pourd over them to wash it off. They are immoderately fond of Cocoa nut oil for the same reason, a great quantity of which they not only pour upon their head and shoulders but rub the body from head to foot briskly with a smaller quantity, and (unless to those who have seen this practice) it is not easy to conceive the different appearance and advantage they seem to receive from undergoing these different trimmings. This oil however is an article not to be procur'd by every one, and the inferior sort of people doubtless appear less smooth for want of that and more frequent shifting of their cloth, as it is no uncommon thing to see them wash the last though its texture would at first make us think that could not be done.

Their domestic life is of that middle kind which I believe the most sensible part of mankind always desire, which is to say it is neither so laborious as to be disagreeable nor so vacant as to suffer them to degenerate into indolence. Nature has done so much for their country that the first can hardly occur and their disposition seems to be a pretty good bar to the last. This happy combination of circumstances is such that their necessary labour seems to yield in its turn to their recreations, in such a manner that the last are never interrupted by the thoughts of being oblig'd to recur to the first till satiety makes them wish for such a transition. The employment of the women is of the easy kind and for the most part such as may be done in the house. The manufacturing their cloth as already describ'd is wholly consign'd to their care, and next to that fabricating their matts seems to be of the greatest consequence. Of these they have seven or eight different sorts for the purposes of wearing or sleeping on and many are merely ornamental. The last are chiefly made from the rough membranous part of the stock of the plantane tree, those they wear from the Pandanus, cultivated for that purpose and never

[1] Whale tooth.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

sufferd to shoot into a trunk, and the coarser sort which they sleep upon from a plant call'd E'varra.[1] There are many other articles of less note that employ their spare time, as combs of which they make vast numbers, little baskets made of the same substance as the matts and others of the fibrous Cocoa nut husk, either plain or interwoven with small beads, but all made with such neatness and taste in the disposition of the different varietys, which are very numerous, that a stranger cannot help looking with pleasure at their assiduity and dexterity. Every person knows the beautifull character that Solomon has drawn of an industrious women and the happy consequences that attend it, and we may almost venture to say that Solomon in that character has included a true picture of all the women of Tonga. The province alloted to the men is as might be expected far more laborious and extensive than that of the women. Agriculture, Architecture, Boat building, Fishing and other things that relate to Navigation are the objects of their care. I would not wish to refer to any thing prior to the date of this voyage to illustrate any circumstance by, when I can avoid it, as it would be interweaving subjects that ought to be seperate unless every person knew them as well as myself, but I cannot help relating here an observation which may have been made before, though not to my knowledge, which is that in all the places I have visited in these seas the degree of civilization that has taken place amongst them may be known by the attention they pay to the fair sex. Those in a very barbarous state treat their women with such a degree of rudeness or rather brutality and at the same time indifference that they seem to think them not so much intended as a companion, or to be upon the same scale with themselves, as a set of beings every way inferior to them and only fit for such mean offices as they would not stoop to. On the contrary as civilization has advanc'd we find them not only eas'd of those laborious employments which their natural delicacy of frame requires, but treated with that respect to which they are often more justly entitled than their lordly masters, and have even a great sway in the management of affairs. Cultivated roots and fruits being their principal support requires their constant attention to Agriculture, which they pursue very diligently and seem to have brought to as much perfection almost as circumstances will admitt of. The land about Mooa though so well planted is scarcely equal to that part of the island where Cap[t] Cook anchor'd in 1773, and from Mooa to the NE point which is all the places we have seen it is tolerable, from whence one might suppose, if the unseen parts are in the same proportion, that two thirds

[1] *fala* was the word for sleeping-mat, not for a plant. The pandanus was called *fa*.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

226 barb'd. With the large ones they catch Bonneto & Albicore by put-
[321] ting them to a large Bamboo rod twelve or fourteen feet long, with a
[391] line as long, which rests in a notch of a piece of wood fix'd in the stern
227 of the Canoe for that purpose, and is dragg'd on the surface as she
824 rows along without any other bait than a tuft of flaxy stuff[1] near the
point. They have also great numbers of pretty small seines, some of
which are of a very delicate texture, that they use to catch fish with
[462] in the holes on the reefs when the tide ebbs, besides barb'd gigs which
[502] they strike some with, each of which are so numerous that shows
much of their time is employ'd in that business; & it is the only thing
that can be reckon'd laborius where we find the women are sometimes
engag'd, and where they handle the paddle as dexterously as the
men.

534 The other manual employments consist chiefly in making musical
[463] reeds, flutes, warlike weapons and stools or rather pillows[2] to sleep on.
The reeds have eight, nine or ten pieces plac'd parallel to each other
but do not observe that simple progression in length as the ancient
,[3] having the longest sometimes in the middle &c and
several of the same length, so that I have seen none with more than
[533] six notes. They seem incapable of playing any regular music on these,
at least not distinguishable by our ears, though it seems very strange
they should invent an instrument whose powers they must certainly
be acquainted with and not be able to apply it to use, at least not
generally. The flutes are a joint of Bamboo close at both ends, with a
hole near each and four others, two of which & one of the first only
are us'd in playing.[4] They apply the Thumb of the left hand to close
the nostril of that side and blow into the hole at one end with the
other. The middle finger of the left hand is applied to the first hole
on that side and the fore finger of the right to the lowest of the same
side. In this manner though the notes are only three, they produce a
pleasing yet simple music which they vary much more than the notes
would seem to admit of. Whether the other holes have any use in this
case I am not certain, but one of their very evident intentions is to
serve as a double flute, for the other two holes & that at the end are
placd exactly in the same order as the others so that they play in-
533 differently with either end. Their being accustom'd to a music which
177 consists of such few notes is perhaps the reason why they do not seem
to relish any of ours, which is so complex, but they seem very sensible
of any that is more deficient than their own, as they us'd to be well

[1] Teased out hibiscus bark would be so used.
[2] *kali*, pillows.
[3] Probably 'syrinx' was the word he was in search of. The Tongan name was *mimiha*.
[4] The *fangufangu*.

TABLE 3

Occupations of Tongan Males 1966*

462
463
162

Area of Occupation	Percent
Agriculture	66.6
Commerce	.9
Transport and Communications	1.6
Services	8.3
Part-Manufacturing and Processing	2.8
Government and Administration	.6
Other (including unemployed)	19.2
Total	100.0

* Adapted from Table A, page 28 of Report on the Results of 1966 Census.

342 quarters of the household head and his wife from the rest of the house. The larger portion of the interior is used for working, receiving guests, kava parties, eating, and as a bedding area for children and other members of the household.

351 Compounds often have small garden plots of decorative or edible plants, and hedges are a common feature around compound borders. Palms, (245) breadfruit trees, mangoe trees, and other large plants with fruits or barks of an edible or medicinal value are left standing in the compound, (462) but all other vegetation is removed. The lawns are cut and swept by the (857) women and children of the household. Pigs, goats, chickens, cows and (231) horses are often picketed or penned within the compound.

Relationships within the Household

592 594 Most Tongans have a preference for living in nuclear family households and this pattern is generally followed. Of the forty-two households in Puke, forty-one are nuclear families, eight of which contain an unmarried relative of the household head or the household head's 592 wife. One household includes three conjugal pairs, but two of the married couples were only recently married and have not yet established independent households. Village households have a mean size of 6.52 persons. (The 1966 Census of Tonga shows a mean household size of 6.9 persons for Tongatapu.)

592 594 A household, then, most frequently consists of a man, his wife, and their real or adopted children. Within his own house a man is tangata 'eiki 'chiefly man', and is the authority of the household.

434 Wage labor and gifts of money from kinsmen working overseas also contri-
[459] bute substantially to money income.

434 An examination of income data from twenty Puke households indicates
463 that the economic strategy followed by Tongan peasants is security
464 through diversity (Tables 12 and 13). Occupational specialization is
usually impractical as most income sources available are affected by
[258] critically-fluctuating market conditions. As an example, the buying of
mature coconuts for processing into desiccated coconut sometimes ceases
completely so that a grower relying upon this market suffers periods of
no income. Over time reliances on various income sources also vary con-
siderably so that a man may do wage labor for a short time until he is
fired or the job terminates, and then may fish or make copra if those
activities are profitable.

592 In most households women and children, particularly girls, contri-
434 bute substantially to household income by producing basketry, bark cloth,
439 shell jewelry, and other handicrafts. These items are sold directly to
tourists in Nuku'alofa or less frequently to exporters. Women also oc-
592 casionally assist their husbands in gardening and fishing.
462

Cash Expenditure: The Spheres of Obligation

434 Tongans generally view cash income as a necessity for meeting three
511 types of obligations: obligation to support one's church (kavenga faka-
siasi), obligation to educate one's children (kavenga faka'ako), and ob-
ligation to support the members of one's household (kavenga faka'api).
Ideally, only after these obligations have been met can an individual

[See pp. 76-77--Analyst]
[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 78]

454 membership. Money-saving associations are found in all social and eco-
456 nomic categories but seem to be most popular among wage laborers. In the village of Puke there were only two money-saving associations operating during 1971. One was formed for the purpose of house building and had only two members; the other was formed to save money for Christmas and New Year expenses. Both follow the model of a savings club rather than a rotating credit association. Virtually no individuals in the community save money on a long-term basis and none utilizes the banking facilities in Nuku'alofa.

The Subsistence Economy

463 As indicated in Table 11, thirty of the household heads in Puke follow occupations which are subsistence oriented, i.e., gardening and
[554] fishing. The traditional roles of the cultivator and the fisherman are
[198] still highly valued, and techniques have apparently changed little in
181 the post-contact period. The ideology inherent in the production and consumption of certain foods, particularly yams and pigs, is parallel to, and integrated with, the ideology of class and kin.

Division of Labor

462 Work is divided primarily by the criterion of sex. Men do nearly all gardening and fishing; they also construct and repair houses and canoes, cook when an earth oven is used, and take care of livestock. The women wash, sew, cook for most daily meals, take care of children, weave mats and make tapa cloth (ngatu). They also collect reef foods,

A. [See p. 74--Analyst]

462 edible wild fruits, pandanas for weaving, and mulberry wands (hiapo) which provide the bark for tapa cloth.

463 335 178 Specialization is common and always part-time. Two men in Puke are specialists in carpentry and neatly divide the available demand by one specializing in the knowledge of traditional carpentry and the other specializing in Western design and methods. Some projects call for the skills of both men, thus affording them a chance to contrast their approaches. While one scurries about taking measuremnts with a steel ruler and making references to smudged pencil marks on paper scraps, the other relies on eye-balling and his ability to reassure others with knowing grunts of wisdom. Oddly, the two techniques seem compatible, both being equally incomprehensible to non-carpenters.

463 Other specialties found in Puke were the construction of fishing paraphernalia, the practice of native medicine by both men and women, undertaking, and canoe building, The village fishermen are also recognized as specialists, particularly a man who was the only one who could consistently take lobster by what was understood as a secret method. No individuals seemed to be recognized as specialists in gardening, but some of the older men were conceded to be the most knowledgeable in that area.

[226]

241 Gardening

Utilization of the garden plots follows a rotation plan wherein products most important in terms of their social prestige are planted and harvested immediately following a fallow period. The next crop

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

671 It was forbidden for any women to remain indolent, and they were
[562] not to be assisted or fed since 'Our assisting the indolent is sup-
porting that which is an evil'.[3]
[461] Sanctity of marriage was again an important feature of the
[581] 1850 Code in which Article VII declared marriage to be a
covenant which could not be broken during the lifetime of either
spouse.

797 The missionaries made no compromise regarding polygamy.
595 Giving up all but one wife was made one of the conditions of
acceptance into membership of the Church. 'I told the people',
wrote Thomas (Journal, 30 Mar. 1831), 'of many of their sins
particularly of the sin of Polegemy. I exhorted them to put away
their wives and keep one only and the Lord will then receive
671 them into his family'. This attitude is reflected in Article VII:
595 3 which made it unlawful for anyone to have more than one
spouse.

535 Dancing was a popular entertainment among Tongans. It was
[832] mainly held at night time, and usually went on until the small
hours of the morning. The excitement naturally whetted the sexual
535 appetite, and couples would melt into the darkness. This was, of
797 course, horrifying to the eyes of the missionaries who, like all
[796] Evangelicals, viewed dancing with disgust, as a great enticement
to sin. Another reason for the missionaries' disapproval of dancing
671 was the fact that it was often performed in association with the
535 old religious ceremonies. Their views were expressed in Clause XI
which forbade dancing and heathen customs with a penalty of one
month's hard labour for the first offence and two months for
further offences.

689 The puritanical views on modesty, which the Wesleyan mission-
797 aries held, made it imperative for adequate and proper clothing
291 to be worn in public by the new converts. 'To dress otherwise,
leaving the body healthy and glad in the sunshine and fresh air

[3] Knowing the privileged position women occupied in Tongan society, Neill could not understand this seemingly extraordinary law. 'It is the husband', he wrote, 'who was, and still is, the working partner and breadwinner in the Tongan home' (Neill 1955:98). It may be pointed out, however, that women had the responsibility of making the *ngatu* (tapa cloth) mats and so on, which were needed in the home, and this was the work to which the clause referred.

423 Table 15. Class of tenure on town allotments held by sample households.

Village	Registered	Un-Registered	Tem-porary	Rented	Total
Haveluliku	3	5	0	0	8
Fatumu	8	13	1	0	22
Kolonga	9	8	6	1	24
Houma	4	15	2	0	21
Kolovai	14	1	1	0	16
Ha'ateiho	10	11	1	1	23
Kolomotu'a	11	0	1	0	12
Kolofo'ou	19	3	1	2	25
Ma'ufanga	6	3	1	1	11
TOTAL	84	56	14	5	159

433 Economy

The Tongan economy is predominantly agricultural, with a secondary dependence on fishing and, more recently, tourism.

463 Importance of Agriculture

462 According to the 1966 census, 67 percent of males over 15 years of age were employed either directly or indirectly in agriculture (Table 16) and 81 percent of Tongan women over 15 years of age are occupied with domestic chores

162 463 462

Table 16. Number of economically active males and females over 15 years of age in specified occupations.

Industry	Males	Females
Agriculture	13,827	69
Commerce	180	173
Communication	334	7
Service	1,715	607
Manufacturing and processing	579	18
Government and administration	124	0
Domestic industry	33	16,447
Unclassified	3,974	2,732
TOTAL	20,766	20,053

Source: Fiefia,1968:72-74.

around their own households, including preparation of agricultural crops and handicrafts, and working in dooryard gardens or on the bush allotments.

A high percentage of Tongan males employed in agriculture is also shown by the survey of households conducted by the author in 1971 (Table 17). These data show a majority were full-time farmers and that another 15 percent had some other employment, such as a village storekeeper, part-time banana inspectors/or a lay preachers, but still considered themselves primarily farmers. Out of 149 households, there were 39 households with more than one full-time farmer (one household with five; two with four; eight with three; and 28 with two). Of the 36 heads of households who considered themselves full-time wage workers, 58 percent put in some time, ranging from 1 1/2 to 16 hours per week farming on their allotments. Of these 36 full-time wage earners, five did not own allotments.

Subsistence Needs

The Tongan diet continues to be largely dependent on staple and subsidiary crops grown on traditional garden allotments. In a listing of the relative importance of items in the diet (Table 18), only a few imported items such as bread (made from imported ingredients), mutton, and canned fish rank high on the list. Imported luxury items used more for flavor than nutrition, such as canned fruits, gelatin desserts, ice cream, sugar, salt, and canned or dried milk, are not listed.

copra for cash(Table 20), and many other sources of income were also related to the agricultural system. Of 141 households, there are fifteen that have at least one female wage earner, four with women shopkeepers, three with women who sold products at the market, and 53 with women who made and sold handicrafts.

Table 20. Percent of households having at least one member receiving income from specified sources (Based on 141 households on Tongatapu).

Source	Non-Urban	Urban	Total
Full-time wage earners	21%	82%	40%
Part-time Wage earners	14%	27%	18%
Makes copra	45%	7%	33%
Sells coconuts	66%	32%	55%
Ships bananas	33%	2%	23%
Ships melons	13%	2%	10%
Ships other produce	9%	5%	8%
Sells at market	44%	2%	31%
Sells handicrafts	48%	23%	40%
Sells meat(beef,pork,etc.)	31%	7%	23%
Sells fish	14%	5%	11%
Sells in village	11%	0%	8%
Shopkeeper	3%	2%	3%
Remittances	30%	32%	50%

97: Stewart G-3 (1960) 1961 OU9 Tonga OU9

Langa Fonua In The Kingdom Of Tonga

462
575
142
291
302

Recently the Commission's[1] women's interests officer spent six weeks in Tonga helping to conduct courses for women leaders from villages scattered throughout the Kingdom. As she reveals in this article, during her stay there she was deeply impressed by the work of the Langa Fonua, a women's organization dedicated to the progress of home and community.

By MARJORIE STEWART

Members taking the second course, photographed in front of Langa Fonua House.

[P 26-A]

[1] /The South Pacific Commission - an advisory and consultative international body -- Analyst/

97: Stewart G-3 (1960) 1961
OU9 Tonga OU9

Langa Fonua Formed In 1954

Women's work in Tonga is recognised throughout as having a vital part to play in the natural structure and economy. It was after Queen Salote returned from her triumphant participation in the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth in London in 1953 that she called together a group of leading women in Tonga, particularly members of the Pan-Pacific and South-East Asia Women's Association, to discuss the formation of a local equivalent to Women's Institutes.

Out of this came the *Langa Fonua*, which was inaugurated on May 7, 1954. It is a movement dedicated to the progress of home and community through the continuous education and inspiration of the women throughout the villages.

Among a population estimated in 1955 as 56,000 there are now approximately 1,000 members in Tongatapu and the other islands, with 23 branches in Tongatapu alone, each with its own Leader and Secretary, while the policy and general directive for the movement comes from the Central Committee elected at the annual general meeting. Queen Salote is President of the *Langa Fonua*.

Headquarters House In Nuku'alofa

An outstanding feature is the headquarters house in Nuku'alofa, in the centre of that small town. It is a spacious, cool, handsomely equipped dwelling house, surrounded by a wide

342 verandah, with a well-nurtured flower
351 garden at the front and a large stretch of smooth lawn at the back, edged with laden banana trees and other useful sources of food and shade.

575 The *Langa Fonua* House was bought
462 in September, 1957, for £4,500, the
[342] money and Tongan furnishings (mats,
[435] etc.) being collected throughout the Kingdom by women's groups. It is used for general and committee meet-
575 ings and for a series of valuable classes
462 in cookery, sewing, child welfare, first
873 aid, English and Tongan. These classes are attended by members of *Langa Fonua* from Tongatapu villages and are
[342] taught by volunteer instructors, both Tongan and European. It is a dignified yet functional house, preserving in its family furnishings the quality of a lived-in home.

Five-Day Courses For Women Leaders

575 It was in this house that three five-day
462 courses were conducted by Miss June
873 Summerton of the South Pacific Health
648 Service and myself, and in its spacious living rooms that we ate and slept and had our office.

574 We were cared for with that all-inclusive, thoughtful, unobtrusive and capacious hospitality for which Tonga is famous, delicacies or extra equipment frequently appearing from the Palace.

Receptions, dinners, cocktail parties and above all feasts and a gay and totally unsuspected surprise party organised by Princess Melenaite with the

 [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 27-B]

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[P. 27-A]

Some members of a sewing class.

ever-competent assistance of the A.D.C. punctuated our days and nights.

Daily Feasts

During the first course the delegates came from the far-away islands of Vava'u and Ha'apai and the nearer Eua, so they were daily entertained by a different local village which provided them with three handsome meals, the midday dinner being served on low tables on the *Langa Fonua* back verandah. A lorry would arrive between 11.30 and 12, a team of servers gaily garlanded would leap forth and unload great plaited coconut frond *pola* or stretchers laden with delicious food—long yams or taro down each side forming a protective wall for the pyramid of whole sucking pigs (the pig population in 1955 was 30,000), chickens, shellfish, fresh fish, salads, water melons and the popular *lu pulu* (corned beef cooked with coconut cream and wrapped in taro leaves) as well as a special local cassava and caramel pudding also wrapped in green leaves.

We would sit, a company of about 35 to 40, on the floor round this long laden table and eat with our fingers, helping ourselves freely while the host team entertained us with ukulele, songs and high-spirited dances in which many of us took part as a healthy digestive to the superb meal. Speeches from the visitors and hosts took place throughout the meal, the orator frequently weeping as a gesture of appreciation of such generous hospitality.

Then would follow the afternoon session, which on three days appropriately consisted of a talk on food values and a cooking demonstration.

Sunday was the final feast of that first week, at the house of the A.D.C. and his wife, the Hon. Vaea and Tuputupu, where European custom of linen and cutlery mingled with the lavish, genial festivity of Tonga.

The average attendance was 35 at these five-day courses for women leaders from different areas.

Courses For Village Instructors

Tonga has much the same difficulty as other countries throughout the world regarding village work, namely, the problem of keeping up interest without extraneous leadership. The morning sessions were consequently directed to-

wards programme planning related to village needs of each age group as well as simple methods of club organisation. Group discussion on the problems of village life and the opportunities for their solution through *Langa Fonua* produced the request that courses of instruction be held for sectional leaders from the different districts in subjects related to homecraft and health, particularly sewing and cooking, so that each village had its own trained local instructor who could take her part in enriching the programme of the branch meeting.

The afternoon classes consisted of sewing (patchwork and patterns) and cooking, including a brief introduction to food values and the simple home cooking of basic foods as well as invalid and weaning diets. It is for concentrated courses on these subjects that the request came from the delegates and was forwarded to the Central Committee. Lively songs opened and riotous games closed the daily sessions.

The leaders went away with a few new ideas for both the educational and recreational side of their village programme, but primarily with some realisation of what might be achieved in community education through *Langa Fonua*, especially if there were sufficient trained voluntary project leaders.

Variety Of Visual Aids

Visual aids on such topics as The Village Survey, The Woman in the Home, Building a Programme, Dangers

[P. 27-C] [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 28-B]

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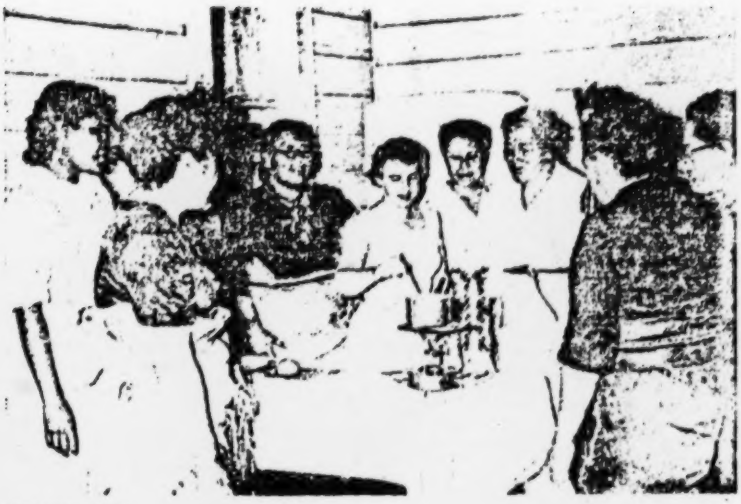

[P.27-D]

Miss June Summerton giving a cooking demonstration.

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[P.28-A]

Midday feast between classes—Miss Stewart at end of table, Miss Summerton on her left. The delegates attending this course were all from other islands, and each day they were entertained by a different local village which provided three lavish meals, the midday one being a full feast.

of the Fly and Worm, Election of Office-bearers and Project Leaders, The Balanced Diet, all helped to focus attention, and dramatisation of a successful branch meeting summed up the week's suggestions. For each course we had a series of quite superb interpreters from among the delegates. During the last week several sessions were taken by Princess Mata'aho, who had helped us on arrival with valuable translations of cooking recipes.

As a means of demonstrating the importance of local resource personnel in village programmes, help was sought from the Medical Department for three of the morning sessions. The Public Health Inspector discussed with the group the findings of the recent village inspections and the means of coping with unsolved sanitation problems; the Sister Tutor from Hospital talked of infant care and home nursing, answering innumerable questions of every variety.

Water is one of Tonga's main needs, and WHO has been holding discussions with the Government on increasing the supply. A Filipino engineer, Mr. B. Adan, is working on a pilot scheme of sinking a well with village assistance as a preliminary to further development. He held a popular and prolonged session with each course explaining the technique and demonstrating how villagers could co-operate in the maintenance of a healthy supply of water.

Annual Show In October

The work of the *Langa Fonua* is gathered up annually in their October Show with its competitions in various types of Tongan crafts, sewing (including garment making), cookery, garden produce, flowers and poultry. It is the

occasion of the presentation of shields for the best village and district. Local shows are also held. 575 462 543

This sense of responsibility for village improvement links the function of the *Langa Fonua* with that of the Women's Health Committees in the villages, voluntary bodies whose object is to improve the standard type of Tongan dwelling house by building sanitary bath houses, cooking and eating shelters and if possible tanks for water storage. Inspections are carried out regularly to enforce rules of cleanliness and to encourage vegetable and flower gardens. 575 462 624 744 [241]

Members of the Health Committee help with treatment of mothers and children for minor or skin ailments and give advice on infant and child care, including feeding. The Health Committee works in close touch with the visiting Child Welfare Nurse; scabies has been reduced almost to vanishing point. [757] [164]

Extensive Child Welfare Services

Child welfare has an important place in the Government programme. A beautifully equipped and expensive new mobile Child Care Clinic with its enthusiastic staff of one New Zealand Plunket-trained general and maternity nurse with one or two Tongan student nurses visits every village in Tongatapu every fortnight for preventive care including weighing, dieting and treatment of minor ailments as well as antenatal cases. All pre-school children are thus under regular observation. 744 743 855

The driver is an integral part of the team, taking his share in dealing out both liquid foods and advice or acting as interpreter.

[P. 28-C]

98: Rowlands U-3 (no date) 1961
OU9 Tonga OU9

Tongan Women Hold Annual Show

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Each year the Langa Fonua, a Tongan women's organization dedicated to the progress of home and community, holds an annual Show. Sections for exhibits include Tongan handcrafts, sewing, cookery, garden produce, flowers and poultry.

By DILYS E. ROWLANDS

[P.34-B]

98: Rowlands U-3 (no date) 1961
OU9 Tonga OU9

SATURDAY, November 12, was an important day for the members of the Tongan Women's Association, "KO E LANGA FONUA 'A E FEFINE TONGA", for it was the day of their Annual Show. Anxious glances had been cast at the sky, for the Show was to be held in the open air and the weather for some days had been uncertain. However, although the day was overcast, no rain fell and all was well.

Her Majesty Queen Salote Tupou, G.C.V.O., G.B.E., who is President of the Association and who has not missed a Show since the first one was held seven years ago, inspected the exhibits. She congratulated the women on the steady improvement in the quality of the work which had been shown throughout the years.

The Tongan handwork included mats, trays, baskets of various shapes, dress materials printed with island dyes, Tongan curtains and cushions and articles made from shells. A new section this year was that for baby baskets. Other items were soap, starch, buttons and ornaments made from Tongan materials.

The sewing section had men's coats and shirts, children's clothing, embroidered dresses, knitted articles, patchwork quilts and fancy work of various kinds. The cookery section included cakes, scones, bread, jams and jellies, cordials, puddings and various Tongan delicacies.

Evidence of the various interests which had been encouraged among the

[P.34-C]

/46 cont./

303 sinamoni (Cinnamomum--?) and pasiole (Pogostemon nepetoides) are pounded between two stones and mixes with oil (made from pressed, grated coconut meat). This intermediate product is then kept for a night in a bowl in the house and the next day it is placed in the sun. The substance is kneaded and pressed over a metal sheet and the now fragrant oil runs from the slightly tilted metal sheet into an enamel bowl placed to receive it. Plant remnants carried along are afterwards fished out of the oil in the bowl with a piece of tapa. Then the bowl is left standing in the sun so that the water still present in the oil can evaporate; finally the lolo Tonga is poured into glass bottles which are closed with tapa stoppers. The oil is [462] now ready for use. Production is entirely women's work.

303 415 177 This lolo Tonga and its method of production are basically an ancient Tongan cultural asset. The European elements such as glass bottle, enamel bowl and sheet metal are convenient substitutes for Tongan mechanical aids that were once laboriously produced (for [139] instance, calabashes). The natives also like to use the leaves of various plants imported by Europeans; the last two aforementioned shrubs, for instance, are not indigenous to Tonga.

303 184 The recipe mentioned above was obtained on Nomuka. Though the procedure remains the same, the ingredients of fragrant leaves, blossoms, fruits and roots vary, and most women probably have their own "secret recipe." Thus one woman in Pangai/Lifuka uses, besides coconut oil and the Aleurites fruit, langakali blossoms (Aglaia samoensis), mohokoi blossoms (Cananga odorata [Lam.] Hook f. and Thomson), heilala fruit, pipi fruit and pako roots, while another in the same village adds to these ingredients siale (Gardenia taitensis D.C.), tevunga, pasiole, sipaisi and kilimau. (105)

[643] 105. In the past, great chiefs also liked to use an oil that was enriched with sandelwood

29 /49 cont./
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(426)

121. On a small island like Nomuka there were already four lowerable sewing machines in 1952. The hand sewing machines in particular are willingly lent from house to house.

just as they, naturally, also hem the vala. (122)

(462)

122. This work is sometimes also done by men.

29 In Tonga the shirt was introduced by law as a result of missionary
(671) influence ("decent clothing"). Thus today in the villages one does
177 not see a Tongan with the upper part of the body uncovered, though on
(799) the plantations many will seek relief on hot days and take off their shirts. True, the law did not prescribe the shape and condition of the shirt, so that for some natives it seems sufficient, at least on weekdays, to place a circular rag around their necks. Every
29 Tongan observes a definite hierarchy in his wardrobe: the first out-
292 fit (his best and newest things) is commonly worn to church on Sunday, the second outfit (that is, the one for Sundays that is already somewhat worn) is donned for festive occasions and for the kawa gatherings, while the third (that is, the outworn second) serves for everyday and, along with definite work clothes, is still very serviceable for various activities, especially in the plantings.

292 /50/ For church-going, for a festival or a fono (123)
(621)

123. A village gathering, especially for the purpose of hearing explanations by government representatives with regard to specific village matters.

the ta'o-vala is worn, a more or less finely plaited mat (depending on one's wealth), secured with a plaited coconut cord (kafa). (124)

124. The customary types of ta'o-vala mats are the ones made of the various pandanus species, ta'o-vala tofua, ta'o-vala kie, ta'o-vala tapa 'i la; less frequently used is the rather shabby ta'o-vala tangai made from a dyed European sack.

/68 cont./

592 181 Despite the dark side which Tongan marriage has for the strict Western observer, the family life of these natives may be regarded as happy, particularly since basic ideas are freer and the Tongans with their mentality take things easier than they appear to whites. As in old times, (198)

592 462 198. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 300.

the husband bears the chief burden of work (planting, fishing, house and boat building), while the wife cares for the house and the children, plaits mats and makes tapa. (199)

199. More details at "Division of Labor," p. 336 ff.

593 As ever, the wife enjoys special respect. In most houses a quiet, harmonious atmosphere predominates, both between the spouses as well as between parents and children. Often one sees fathers holding their children lovingly on their laps, and mothers take conscientious, often tender care of their children for granted. This family life [198] corresponds very much to that in old Tonga, according to the description given by Mariner. (200)

200. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 179.

593 861 Many parents do not beat their children, but are content with admonishing words. Some, however, give severe punishment with the Tonga broom (tau fale) /used/ as a switch (or with a stick, leather strap, etc.). /69/ Child obedience is moderate to good. In general, [869] however, children are handy, and when still of young age they perform tasks helping their parents and growing into the parents' roles.

593 784 [198] An ancient taboo forbade children to touch their father's head, to partake of his food and drink and to use articles belonging to him. This taboo is today largely relaxed, for children will, for example, often eat food remnants of their father or drink up what is left in his coconut cup. Many use their father's comb, and some even touch

/140 cont./

283 and then the three-strand cord is plaited from these small bundles.
283 This method of preparation probably corresponds to the ancient Tongan
178 procedure except for two deviations: In the old days it was probably generally customary to "bake" the coconut husks in an earth oven and only then to place them in the sea; occasionally this complicated method is still used today by leaving the husks (wrapped in koko leaves) (373)

373. Bischofia javanica Bl.

for hours or days (up to one month) in the earth oven--soon grown cold--and thereafter keeping them in sea water for two or three weeks. [171] Secondly, in former times, the natives probably wound the little fiber bundles with a single fiber before plaiting them, as is occasionally still done in Samoa; this procedure is slower, but guarantees greater durability of the cord.--Making coconut cords is men's and [462] women's work, but is done mostly by the men. Often, several men do [574] the plaiting together, and they also like to do this work in the kava [276] gatherings. However, the cords are much less often made than they were even a few decades ago when one constantly saw men plaiting kafa in the kava circles. In those days they apparently also liked to lay in a supply, and the demand for better built houses of ancient Tongan [461] style was probably greater. Today, three men plait up to 200 meters of coconut-fiber cord in four hours (as a day's output). In this way three people can, in three months, make the necessary amount of kafa for a rather large house of ancient Tonga style, whereas they finish this work for a small house in less than a month--if they persist in plaiting their quota every day.

342 A further concern of the Tongan who wants to build a house in
313 the old Tongan style is to procure the posts and beams. The Tonga
[824] Islands are poor in lumber, and if a person does not have a few koka
[439]

/151 cont./

241 656 178 433

Plant	Amount	Day on which planting must be finished
Yams.....	600	December 31, 1948
Taro.....	150	"
Manioc.....	200	"
kape.....	50	"
Bananas (siaine)....	100	"
Sweet potatoes.....	300	June 30, 1949
Maize.....	100	"
Reed (kaho).....	10	"
Kava.....	10	"
Sugarcane (au).....	50	"
Paper mulberry trees	100	"

(The governors have the power to order changes depending on local conditions.)

[425] [686] The government has the right /152/ to take away the land from the lessees who do not comply with the regulations. However, it scarcely makes use of this right. There are some plantations that are seldom visited by their owners and are rather overgrown, and no one seems

241 656 to care about punishment. The majority of Tongan, however, plant approximately the prescribed amounts and often go beyond the measure stipulated of basic food plants for which the numbers are set relatively low; other plants, such as maize and the reed used for house construction, as well as sugarcane are preferably "forgotten."

241 [462] Planting--as in old times--is purely men's work; very seldom, and then mostly for certain auxiliary work (for example, "sweeping" a freshly burned-off plantation) do women come "into the bush." The

241 461 512 average Tongan goes to his plantation several times a week (up to six times), early in the morning around six o'clock, and works at weeding, planting or harvesting until ten or eleven o'clock, and then goes back to the village. Often he visits his plantation again in the afternoon from 15 (16) o'clock until 18 (18:30) o'clock. The natives

/158 cont./

244 [242] [412] ground is recognized by the type and size of the wild plants growing there. The weeds are cut down with the thrusting iron (huo lafa-lafa) (see above) and the machete (hele pelu) (see above). After a week or so the dried weeds are burned and the land is cleared--for example, [462] swept. Women also take part in this work, whereas all the rest of the cultivation activity is the business of the men. The holes for plant- [412] ing are dug with the Tongan "digging-stick spade" (huo spade) (see [804] above) to a depth of 0.5 of a meter to one meter and approximately one-fourth of a meter in diameter; the distance from one plant hole to the next (approximately 1.80 to 2 meters) is measured by the eye or with a measuring tape (European tape or coconut cord [kafe]) and a stick or stalk, so that rows are formed and the entire layout of the "yam garden" looks like a chess board. The /159/ plant holes are filled loosely with earth so that the tubers can grow deep into the ground. On the soft earth one piece of yam root is lain four to six weeks in an earth-covered pit approximately one-half meter deep, for sprouting.) Over the plant pieces the natives heap the earth with their hands to form small hills. After a week or two the young plant grows out of the hill. They cut twigs and lay them under (between) the plants, so that the latter can "climb"; (420)

420. A special type of yam ('ufi lei) is also allowed to climb up dead tree trunks, posts, cords and wires.

today this saves the natives the work of having to turn over the ground in the field every day to protect the plants from scorching in the hot earth. The weeds which soon appear are removed--generally [412] every week or two--with the huo lafa-lafa. The harvest takes place after eight to twelve months (depending on the variety). After the yams have shown that they are ripe by the leaves turning brown and drying up, the tubers are taken out of the ground. First the natives

/160 cont./

244 machete (also with the huo spade or the huo lafa-lafa) about a foot above the ground and with this stub they pull the tubers (which are barely 50 centimeters long) out of the ground and dig farther for those they have not pulled out. The tubers must be used up soon, since [251] they keep for only two or three days.

The manioc planted in Tonga for food is not noticeably poisonous. The natives take no precautions. Only the manioc often used nowadays to [824] [287] glue bark cloth is poisonous and is carefully stored away from domestic animals.

talo = Taro (Colocasia esculenta Schott)

[262] Taro is one of the ancient cultivated plants of the Tongans (423).

423. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 237; W. Ellis, An authentic narrative... I. p. 89.

but in the past, as today, it has never had great importance in the diet of the natives; the Tonga Islands are too arid for a extensive taro cultivation. Nevertheless, the natives take the trouble to plant a certain amount of taro. They distinguish between three main varieties.

[221] Planting time is from June to September (seldom to December), but particularly during the months of August and September. The native cut down and burn the weeds on the land where they propose to grow taro.

[462] Here too the subsequent "sweeping" of the residue is often done by the women, whereas all the rest of the work is the business of men. Sometimes they also plant taro after the yam harvest in the holes of the harvested tubers or together with the yams. They dig the planting holes for taro approximately 30 centimeters deep with the huo spade and place in them pieces approximately 12, 15 centimeters long) of the rhizome-like taro stalk. The planting holes are then covered with earth in such a way that a depression of some ten centimeters remains, so that in case of rainfall the water can gather in it. A simpler, more

476 /175 cont./ On a rope some 500 or 1,000
226 (even 2,000) meters long the natives fasten coconut palm leaves so
[824] that they project. While one end of this rope remains on the beach (or reef), two or three rather large boats (cutters) take the remaining part and ride out to sea with it and then come back to the shore, thus spreading it out in a large semicircle that extends into the ocean. Some 50 or 80 persons take part in the entire undertaking. They then pull the rope back to shore, that is to say, they make the semicircle smaller. Young natives dive, in order to free the rope that might be caught on the rocks at sea bottom. As soon as the semicircle has become small enough, the net is doubled and finally tripled. Since the coconut leaves move in the water while the work on the rope is going on, the trapped fish are afraid to escape through the leaves. They are crowded together more and more and then driven into a large and heavy funnel-shaped net (tuki) plaited of coconut fibers, secured with sticks and /176/ weighted with stones. Several hundred, indeed as many as 1000 fish (the length of an arm
[225] or a hand) can be caught in such a haul. There may even be turtles and sharks (which are immediately speared) among the booty. In the fishing methods described thus far the fisherman uses up his catch alone with his family, and sometimes gives a portion to neighbors or other villagers, whereas the distribution of an uloa catch is a special event: the headman of the village, the pastor, possibly Europeans of the vicinity, all those who took part in the work, and, in case of a very large haul, the entire village are given their share.

226 talaki:

This is a small net, approximately one or one and a half meters long. It is fastened to two sticks and has several weights. With
[462] this hand net, held by the ends of the sticks, women fish, particularly

/176 cont./

226 in the reef hollows on the surf side (liku) of the islands. They
[462] fish alone or engage in joint fishing known as 'e'e, a group of them forming two rows and moving in shallow water. As soon as a fish is seen between the rows they form a circle and catch it with the talaki.

Spearing Fish:

tao:

[229] The fish spears have one to six (mostly three or four) points and are generally three or three and a half meters long. From a reef or a boat the natives very expertly hurl (thrust) the spear with one hand (tao velo) or with both hands (tao hoka) at the fish
[416] spotted in the water. At night, two men also ride in an outrigger with a benzol pressure lamp in the bow. The native with his spear stands behind the lamp; the man paddling sits astern. Thus they spear the fish attracted by the light.

[227] With a smaller spear that has one or two (seldom three) points they also dive and kill the fish under water (tao uku).

Shooting Fish under Water:

sengai:

[229] This is done with a sling (sengai) made of a forked branch and a rubber strip (from an auto tire) and a small spear (tao ukame'a) made entirely of iron, which serves as an arrow. The natives, who
[416] wear diver's goggles (sio'ata uku) of wood, glass, resin and rubber, self-made or bought from a merchant, swim inside or beyond the reef in more or less deep water, dive and shoot the fish swimming past, which they take to a boat that usually accompanies them.

Fishing with Hook and Line:

taumata'u:

In an outrigger (or a cutter) they go out to sea (some miles

/178 cont./

Fishing with Dynamite:

226 389 (656) The natives ignite the fuse cord of a dynamite charge and throw the explosive into the sea. The killed fish rise to the surface. (Sometimes practiced, though forbidden by law.)

Catching Sharks:

'anga:

226 [825] The natives sail out to the high seas in a sailboat and beat the water with a ring (made of coconut husk), which produces a certain noise that attracts the sharks. With bait (for example, pork) they lead them to the side of the boat, catch them with a noose and kill them.

Catching Octopus:

makafeke:

The octopus hook (makafeke) consists of a conically sharpened stone approximately ten centimeters long on which are fastened two pieces of a tiger mussel ("back") and on which are also tied a root piece of the coconut palm and several of the palm pinnae as "tail" (some 50 centimeters long), as well as a couple of pinnae as "legs," so that the whole resembles a rat. Early in the morning, at low tide, they punt over the reef in an outrigger, hold the hook on a string in the water, at a depth of approximately 20 to 50 centimeters, and move it jerkily. The octopus seizes the "rat," is taken off the hook and killed.

226 222 462 Gathering octopus (a'a feke), Mussels, Algae and Crabs:

Women in particular scour the shore reefs on the surf side of the islands (liku) at ebb tide for sea food. With a stick or an iron rod (tao ukame'a, see above: sengai) they poke octopus out of reef hollows and kill them. The Tonga women also hunt for mussels (for example, kuku) and seaweed (for example, limu) and dig for crabs

/178 cont./

(for example, hulali) in the sand of the shore.

Some fishing methods are used far more than others. In this connection the following figures were obtained on days chosen at random in April 1952 ('Uiha) and May 1952 (Fungamisi):

/179/

Fishing method:	Number of times employed:	
	in 80 cases in 'Uiha/'Uiha	in 32 cases in Fungamisi/Vava'u
sengai	30	2
kupenga sili	22	2
tao uku	13	-
'a feke	6	4
ama	3	2
kupenga toho	2	-
taumata'u	2	5
'aukava	1	-
talaki	1	-
kupenga leleaki	-	8
kupenga tapo	-	3
Dynamite	-	2
fakatele	-	4

This survey cannot show clearly the frequency of present fishing methods in the Tonga Archipelago, but at least it shows that the natives are still very familiar with the sea and use various methods. Among these apparently only the shooting of fish under water (sengai) and the use of dynamite were introduced in Tonga during the European period; diving with goggles and the use of the sling (sengai) were probably taken over from the Samoans about 15 years ago, and the use of dynamite is probably also of a more recent date. The sengai method has become quite popular on several islands of the Archipelago (especially among the younger natives) and has now and then outstripped the fishing with nets, probably used more often in former times, (462)

462. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 279.

/182 cont./

owners of plantations bordering on the shore. (475)

475. Perhaps the reason for this change is the fact that the natives today generally do not live on their plantations, but in the village.

It is only for the erection of weirs that they must apply to the government for a license, and with that they are assured of the exclusive right to a specific fishing ground.

In former times the chiefs alone had the right to catch turtles and consume them. (476)

476. See Th. West, Ten years...p. 122.

As a result of Christianization and the gradual democratization of the Archipelago, commoners may today freely engage in turtle fishing. The only restriction--applying to all classes--is a legal closed season for these animals (November to February). Tongan law (which is the regulation that replaces the once arbitrary power of the chiefs) furthermore determines a closed season for the 'ava fish of Nomuka (May to June), and forbids the use of dynamite.

Seen as a whole, present-day Tonga fishing is not essentially different from that which was carried on in earlier times. The natives have largely kept their old methods, (477)

477. It is difficult to determine whether there was certain development within the old methods that was brought about by the Tongans themselves or was the result of foreign influences.

only one of which was apparently lost and to which two were added. In the making of traditional fishing gear, European material is used to a rather large extent; it is more serviceable and at the same time more convenient. As in ancient Tonga, almost all the procuring of sea food is the business of the men; women gather only along the shore and on the reef (liku) and fish with the hand net (talaki). As in all

/193 cont./

415 252 177 flour-fried cake (keke) and for frying other foods, the Tongans find a welcome addition to the rest of their methods. Up to the present time, European cookstoves and ovens have found very little distribution in the Archipelago; now and then, on special occasions, people bake "English cake" in self-built bake-ovens by placing the cake in a mold on the hot stones of an earth-oven, surrounding it with corrugated sheet metal and earth and covering it with a piece of corrugated sheet metal.

372 177 178 Today, in the villages, fire is produced with matches; occasionally one sees European lighters. On the plantations, where often no matches are available, the natives often use the ancient Tongan method of striking fire, (494)

494. See p. 221.

and everywhere they like to "save" the fire in the traditional way in the form of a glowing coconut husk.

252 462 Preparing an earth-oven is chiefly men's work. They generally heat the stones, peel and cut up the tubers and prepare the rest of the filling for the oven; the women help with the easier tasks, for example preparing the banana-leaf pouches. This division of labor corresponds to that customary in ancient Tonga where food /194/ preparation was apparently largely the business of the men. (495)

495. See Th. West, Ten years...p. 267.

The easier activity of boiling in pots is today, however, usually performed by the women.

252 [565] [178] Commoners probably prepare most of their meals just as they did in the past; the nobles--in accordance with their simplified standard of living as compared to the past--serve meals which are not very different from those of the people. Peeling, cutting-up and stewing tubers is still the most common way of preparing food, except for boiling. Extracting coconut milk with which the tubers

/202 cont./

245 The entire copra production is carried out chiefly by the men.
(462) However, women and girls often help and even do such heavy work as
(857) splitting open the nuts and removing the meat. Children and old
(887) people of both sexes take part as far as they are able, especially in the easier tasks.

245 Copra is not always and everywhere prepared in this way; the
258 drying huts are more widespread on some islands than on others, and a number of Tongans, limit themselves to drying the meat of the coconuts in the sun for several days. It is only since the second World War that the Tonga dry the copra themselves. Before that the white dealers bought the cut-up coconut meat from the natives and dried it at their trading stations. Since they often bought large quantities and their storage places were limited, they were not always able to handle the copra carefully, and particularly during prolonged rainy periods they stacked the "green copra" and the "dried copra" in alternate layers in their warehouses, in order to dry the former. This method often resulted in a dark and slimy product. Through the creation of the
(435) Tonga Copra Board /cited in English/, which permits the natives to carry out the drying process themselves and gives them a stimulus for good work by staggering the prices (for A, B and C quality), Tongan copra has improved a great deal and has risen from almost the poorest level of the entire Pacific to approximately Ceylon-quality.

423 According to present-day law, which has superseded the arbitrary
425 power of chiefs, every Tonga who is granted an api'uta (527)
245 527. See pp. 172-173.
656 must plant 200 coconut /203/ palms. In practice, however, there are sometimes more, sometimes fewer palms on the individual plantations, either scattered over most of the api'uta or concentrated on one-half
245 of the land. The copra production of individual families remains about
433

245 434 [439] /204 cont./

16,704 tons in 1950 and to 19,222 tons in 1951 (ibid., p. 12); only a few white planters are included in these amounts.

245 433 439 Finally, the fact that the Tonga Islands, through their copra production, have become a member (though a small one) of world economy is having a certain political, commercial and, above all, economic importance for the natives, depending on the state of the world market.

245 433 182 178 177 Yet the possibility of producing copra is too limited on the islands, and the traditional economic and communal system of the Tongans is too closely knit, and the people themselves are too even-tempered for this to lead to the destruction of the traditional life of the natives. The old, basic economic structure has remained. Copra and money have become an essential attribute to their former way of life, but still only an attribute that can be renounced, though renunciation would bring with it all kinds of hardships.

D. Plaiting, Knotting, and Tapa-Making

285 [462] Most Tongan women even today spend a large part of their time plaiting, knotting and making tapa.

/205/ Among the plait work, mats are particularly important on account of the labor involved in making them and their significance for Tongan daily life as well as for festivities. The following types may be distinguished: floor mats, seat mats, sleeping mats, belt mats and display mats; the "pola" plaited of coconut palm leaves, which are used to make walls and to cover roofs, are also to be mentioned here. Some of the mat types--because of various raw materials and different ways of making them--must be further subdivided into individual types. The following list may give a picture of how the most common Tongan mats are used and made:

/210 cont./

285 remained a floor mat (547)
178

547. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 294.

and the fala paongo is still used as the typical sleeping mat. (548)

548. Ibid.

Mats are made today in large numbers and the natives willingly and as a matter of course, despite all apathy, take on the hard work of making them according to the traditional and complicated process.

285 Mat-making--as in old times--(549)
462
178

549. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 293.

is typically women's work. Only the coarse pola, for example, are also plaited by men (as in ancient Tonga). (550)

550. Ibid., p. 295.

[249] Even the planting of pandanus is often done by the women. The cutting of the leaves in particular is their business, "since the men might easily break them," and the entire subsequent work process is done by [476] the women exclusively. Plaiting the mats (especially the larger ones) is preferably done cooperatively in a kautaha. (551)

551. See pp. 95/96.

285 An important difference compared to the past is the fact that all
565 goods make by Tongan women of the commoner class are their property,
422 (552)
178

552. See in this connection J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 100.

and that today women of rank no longer make mats as a hobby and for sale, (553)

553. Ibid., pp. 100, 295.

especially not for the latter purpose.

285 Basket-making is an important area of Tongan plaitwork, today
178 as it was in the past. The following account may show the most

/210 cont./

285 (178) important types of baskets plaited today in Tonga:

kato lou niu (kato tokonaki):

This is the simplest basket and the one most frequently made (462) (482) and used in Tonga. Men as well as women plait it and use it to transport plantation products, carry copra, etc. They make a kato (824) lou niu by cutting a leaf from the coconut palm, cutting it in half lengthwise, coarsely plaiting the pinnate leaflets of one half, making the whole into an oval and joining the ends of the pinnate leaflets in a braidlike weave (= bottom of the basket). The entire work is finished in about ten minutes. They use this basket only once, as a rule.

kato kai tunu:

(482) The kato kai tunu is used exclusively to carry food. Women (824) like to use it to bring provisions to members of a work group. This basket is make by the women from a section of a fresh coconut palm leaf. They plait together its pinnate leaflets (on both sides) /211/ and then cut (halve) the midrib (main rib) so that they have a folding basket. Two handles (made of two times two pinnate leaflets) are fastened to it.

'oa:

(482) This basket is used especially to carry fish, but also to transport fruit, mussels, sand, copra etc. Women usually plait the (462) 'oa, but men also do this work.

(824) Such baskets are similar in shape and in the way they are worked to kato lou niu (see above), but are plaited much finer out of young coconut palm leaves (work time approximately one-half to one hour) and are used for several months (by both sexes).

kato lou 'akau:

(482) The kato lou 'akau is used for carrying, and now and then also

/211 cont./

285 for safe-keeping, utensils of all kinds. The natives place in it
482 tobacco, cigarette papers, small knives, oil bottles, combs, mirrors and diapers (=kato tanaki'anga me'a) and, in the larger ones (kata vala) articles of clothing; they also use it to shop at the storekeeper's, and in smaller baskets of this type children carry their schoolbooks, adults their bibles and hymn books. The kato lou 'akau is used
[462] almost exclusively by women (and girls), and the women (and girls) are also the only ones who plait it.

285 This basket, which has a rectangular bottom and two loop handles,
[824] is made of strips of pandanus leaves. It has an inner section plaited
[531] of wider lou paongo strips, and around this is worked an outer section from a lou tofua strip that is equally wide at the bottom and narrower at the sides; (554)

554. For the method of making various pandanus-leaf strips see under "papa" and "lo taha," pp. 306/307.

these strips are sometimes of natural color, sometimes dyed black (see above) and plaited into "geometric" patterns.

kato tongi:

This is similar to the kato lou 'akau. The use of both baskets
[824] is the same. The kato tongi is plaited of wider strips of lou paongo (and lou tofua) and differs in its long sides which are drawn out to two rather long points.

kato tu'a niu:

[482] The kato tu'a niu is used to transport fruit and food and to keep sewing gear and sewing work and other utensils. Like the kato lou'akau, it is an all-around receptacle used for many purposes.
[462] Women and girls use and make it exclusively.

[824] This round basket with a handle (with or without a cover) is plaited from the midribs of the pinnate leaflets of the coconut palm

100: Koch -317 F 4,5 (1951-1952) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9

/211 cont./

285 (824) (531) and from narrow pandanus-leaf strips of the lou tofua species (see above) in a spiral coil technique "Geometric" patterns are worked in with black dyed (see above) lou tofua strips and natural colored lou paongo strips.

/212/

kato lou kie:

(482) This small pouch with a handle is used to hold money, tobacco, matches, etc. It is carried only by women and girls who like to take it along when they go shopping.

The kato lou kie is plaited by women and girls from pandanus strips (upper skin) of the lou kie species. (555)

555. See ta'o-vala kie, p. 309-310

some of which are dyed with European colors.

kato alu:

(585) The kato alu is a "wedding basket" for a wedding of some importance in ancient Tongan style. (556)

556. See p. 114-116.

There are two shapes: a smaller, oval one for the bridegroom and a larger, round one which was originally intended for the bride.

(462) (824) These baskets, which are made only by women, are plaited with the separated midribs of the pinnate leaflets of the coconut palm and the split leaf ribs of the creeper alu. They are dyed with a (386) mixture of the soot of burned Aleurites and the sap of the koka tree (Bischofia javanica [flower]). With thin strings twisted from the (283) (237) bast of the paper mulberry tree, small rings cut out of shells (or snail shells [pule] with coconut fiber strings) are fastened to the (283) (237) outer surface of the basket. The carrying cord is plaited out of women's hair.

285 177 178 From the foregoing list of the most important types of basket we may conclude that the natives expend considerable time, effort and

/212 cont./

285 177 178 care in making these receptacles which are still of rather fundamental importance in their everyday life. A definite change has taken place in this area, however, during the period of European influence: The number of ancient Tongan types has been reduced by the once so artistically plaited coconut fiber baskets (some with ornaments of shell disks) (557)

557. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 283; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 295.

and today we are experiencing the gradual disappearance of the last "wedding baskets" (kato alu, see above). (558)

558. See pp. 114-116.

Even though the Tongan women still make baskets with considerable expenditure of energy and with the use of complicated methods (see foregoing list), nevertheless the results of their efforts often seem crudely and sometimes unevenly worked. The types listed are an ancient Tongan cultural heritage, except for kato lou kie. This small basket with a handle is an imitation of European purses, according to the natives. It [531] is worth mentioning that the other types of baskets have apparently re-[386] mained basically unchanged, though some of them are used only to hold European articles, and that the natives have conservatively kept the old black and white patterns of their pandanus-leaf baskets (with the original black dyeing of the leaf strips), even though European /213/ dyes are easily obtainable; the latter are, significantly, used only for the new 285 462 creation of the kato lou kie.--As in old times, (559)

559. See J. Cook, loc. cit. VI. p. 283.

basket-making is typically women's work, and the men, as in former times, (560)

560. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 294.

only plait the crude baskets (see above, kato lou niu).

/213 cont./

285 Among Tongan plaitwork we must also include the fans (for cooling off on hot days and to drive away mosquitoes and flies), which are still made in large numbers and in different varieties. A summary of the most important types may give a general idea:

i lou niu:

This, the simplest of the fans and is used by old men and women, though young men and women also use it, and children play with it. [462] [824] Only women make it. They plait these fans cut of sections of young coconut palm leaves, the pinnate leaflets of which they separate lengthwise.

i tu'a niu:

The i tu'a niu is used particularly by old women and men, though younger natives also use it.

[462] [824] It is plaited by women (girls) from the center rib of the pinnate leaflets of the coconut palm, from strips of the lou tofua species (561)

561. See p. 307.

(in natural color and dyed black) or of the lou kie species. (562)

562. See p. 309-310.

For the handle, the midribs of prepared coconut palm leaves are used, or a wooden stick is worked in to reinforce the handle. (563)

[239] 563. Sometimes the natives also wind women's hair around such a handle.

Occasionally the edge of the fan is trimmed with chicken down.

i lou 'akau:

[462] [824] The i lou 'akau is a simple fan used by women (girls) and men and plaited only by women (girls). They make it out of leaf strips of the lou tofua speices of apndanus and usually plait in a wooden handle.

/213 cont./

285 (293) i fulu fulu 'i moa:

This is the typical "good" fan of females, especially girls; they like to use it in public, in church, at choir practice, etc.

(462) (824) (531) Women and girls plait it of pandanus strips of the lou tofua variety (as well as lou paongo); (564)

564. See pp. 306-308.

according to the old style, they work in lou tofua strips dyed black or tinted (for example, crimson) with European dyes. A wooden handle is (239) plaited in as reinforcement, and the entire edge of the fan is trimmed with white chicken down.

/214/

i lou fau:

(462) The i'lou fau is used mostly by women, but also by men, and is made by the former.

(824) They use the midribs of the pinnate leaflets of the coconut palm, (177) leaf strips of the lou tofua (or lou kie) variety of pandanus and (386) hibiscus bast (fau). The latter is usually colored with European dyes. (239) A wooden handle is plaited in as reinforcement. Sometimes they also fasten chicken down to the edge of the fan.

285 (177) Without doubt, these are products that are basically of ancient Tongan origin. In the absence of comparative material it is difficult for us to determine how great the change is in this area. In any case, (439) the frequent use of European dyes, as well as the bits of imported construction timber used to reinforce the handle are recent influences. (178) (565) Probably the more "elegent" fans (for example, i fulu fulu 'i moa, i tu'a niu) were reserved for nobles in ancient Tonga, and in general we may assume that the work has perhaps become cruder.

Finally, in a discussion of Tongan plaitwork we must mention sandals and hats.

/214 cont./

Sandals

teka:

285 292 These are an ancient Tongan cultural heritage. Today, as in the past, they are worn on the sharp-edged coral reefs by fishermen (sometimes also by women).

285 462 824 The men (not so much the women) plait these sandals from the bast of Hibiscus tiliaceus. Nowadays, they sometimes also use (for convenience) the less durable leaf strips of pandanus.

Hats

285 177 291 The occasional wearing of hats may be traced back to European influence. Hence the plaiting of such head coverings is also a new type of work in Tonga.

tata lou 'akau:

292 794 These hats are worn by older women when they go to church; they are a sign of membership in the Wesleyan congregation where the wearers have made a special confession. Younger women and girls wear these hats not only for church-going, but also on other festive occasions, and as sunshades on Sunday. In the opinion of one Tongan who is in general well informed, hats have been made in the Archipelago for about 40 years and are an imitation of models taken from the (Europeanized) Niue Island where indeed very similar models are plaited to this day.

292 177

285 462 824 531 /215/ The tata lou 'akau are made only by women from the leaf strips of the lou tofua pandanus species; (565)

565. See lo taha, pp. 305-308.

they plait patterns into them with pandanus leaf strips of the lou kie species, (566)

566. See ta'o-vala kie, p. 309.

dyed with European dyes, and put a band of cotton around the hat.

/215 cont./

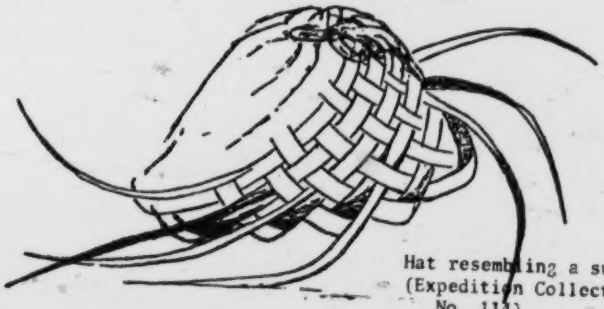
285
292

tata fakapolisi: Hat resembling police caps.

helemeti: Hat resembling sun helmet.

These hats and those of other shapes are sometimes quickly plaited by young Tongans on the plantations from halved coconut palm leaves, and are worn as a protection against the sun or as a quaint adornment. They are "inventions" of recent times.

(178)



Hat resembling a sun helmet (Expedition Collection, No. 114)

Typical women's plaitwork is the making of various ornamental belts.

mana fau:

This simplest ornamental belt may be worn on all special occasions (church-going, festival, etc.) by girls and women (and boys) in place of a belt mat (ta'o-vala, see above). Perhaps this bast belt is a recent introduction or a new creation which may, however, be several decades old.

285
283
824
(462)

Women and girls make the mana fau from the bast of Hibiscus tiliaceus. With the machete men and women (girls) usually cut several small trunks (some 15 or 20) of this tree which grows only wild; the women (girls) scrape off as much as they can of the outer bark with knives, pieces of broken glass, etc., and place the slender trunks into the sea for two to four weeks; this loosens and make pliable the rest of the bark-bast layer so that it can easily be pulled

/215 cont./

285 off (all around) in one strip. After it has dried in the sun for
283 about two days /216/ the white bast (= on the inner side of the re-
824 maining bark) is removed. This the women (girls) divide into narrow strips and therewith knot the mana fau which is actually only a strand of bast slung around the hips, from which the bast fibers, knotted to it in close succession, hang down to below the knees.

kie-kie lou fau:

292 The kie-kie lou fau is worn especially by women and girls, though sometimes also by men. They wear it instead of a ta'o-vala
[764] to church, when visiting chiefs, for festivals and other occasions,
[574] and for dances (laka-laka, ma'ulu'ulu, hula hula, tau'olunga, hula,
[535] ulu); they also decorate fresh graves with it.

285 This ornamental belt which originated only in recent times (end
292 of the last century?/ is made by women and girls, likewise out of
[462] hibiscus bast, and consists of a plaited belt cord on which are
[824] knotted long, narrow bast strips that hang down. It usually has
[283] special knotted ornaments in the hip section (for example, bast
[177] strips tied into rosettes), and parts of it, in contrast to mana fau,
[386] are always dyed with European dyes (particularly green, lavender, pink, and blue).

kie-kie pueki:

292 This ornamental belt, which is also worn by women and girls
[438] (and occasionally by men) in place of the ta'o-vala, is a typical product of the island of Niua Toputapu situated in the very northern part of the Archipelago. It may be an ancient cultural heritage.

292 The natives there make the kie-kie pueki, like the mana fau, of
237 hibiscus bast (with long pendant bast strips); all around the hip
[283] section, however, they knot snail shells on a band about eight centi-
[285] meters wide. The snail shells, which are whitish-yellow in their
[177]
[386]

292 /216 cont./
237 natural state, are today occasionally dyed with European dyes (for
177 example, crimson) for ornamental arrangements.
386

kie-kie lopa:

292 The kie-kie lopa is worn by women and girls (more seldom by men)
[535] as a ta'o-vala; they also like to wear it at dances (laka-laka,
[353] tau'olunga, kailao, hula, ula, ma'ulu'ulu) and often use it to decorate
their dwellings. This may be an ancient cultural heritage. It is
[462] made by women and girls and consists of a plaited cord of bast
[283] (Hibiscus tiliaceus) on which bast fibers are knotted; upon these they
[824] string red lopa seeds (Adenanthera pavonina?). Today the bast fibers
[386] of the kie-kie lopa are also sometimes dyed with European dyes.
[177]

Perhaps the principle of these ornamental belts is an ancient
[283] Tongan cultural heritage. With much love and zeal they are individually
[386] knotted today by women and girls. European dyes are an essential
[177] feature of all of them except mana fau.

The bast cloth (tapa) (567)
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177
[196]

567. Tapa is actually an incorrect designation, though long since established even for the dyed and figured bark cloth (more correctly: bast cloth); in the Tongan language only the non-dyed edge of the bast cloth is called tapa, whereas the dyed (figured) bast cloth is called ngatu.

is still made in the Tonga Archipelago on a large scale, even though the process is very tedious and in part /217/ entails hard work, and European textiles are relatively easily obtainable for the inhabitants of all the islands.

287 As clothing, however, tapa is used only on certain special
292 occasions; (568)
784

568. See p. 66 ff.

198 since the old belief in taboos has been lost, strips of bast cloth are

/223 cont./

285 287 178 out that the Tongan women can obtain the necessary raw material from their own land, and that they are simply continuing a centuries-old tradition that has long been taken for granted. The chapters on clothing and house-building alone show that this answer does not 285 287 178 177 suffice. No intensive European influences affected the area of plaiting, knotting and tapa work, as they did the area of clothing (missionization). Yet the various examples set by whites and the possibilities of obtaining new goods and materials, as in the case of house-building, could alone have caused a rather great change. /224/ The fact that this did not occur must doubtless be explained by the inertia of the Tongans, by their sometimes quite definite conservative attitude. (583)

(386)

583. Interesting in this connection is the fact that the natives can easily obtain European dyes and that they like to use them (for example, for certain types of mats and for ornamental belts), yet they strictly avoid these otherwise so popular garish colors in making their traditional pandanus-leaf baskets and in dyeing their tapa lengths.

462

E. Division of Labor and Daily Routine

The division of labor according to sex among the Tongan population living in the villages is based on the principle that the men generally do the heavy work while the lighter tasks are left to the women.

A list of the chief tasks may show this:

MEN	WOMEN
Plantation work	Food preparation and cooking
Harvest transport	Tending children
Copra-making	Taking care of house
Fishing	Washing clothes and sewing
Preparation of earth-oven	Mat-making, along with plaitwork (and knot work)
Keeping domestic animals	Tapa-making
Grass-cutting (village property)	

/224 cont./

462

MEN	WOMEN
House- and boat-building	Helping clean up after plantation land has been made arable Halping with copra work, earth-oven preparation, etc. Gathering seafood Making hair- and body oil

887 Old people usually work along with the family to the extent that their strength permits. Those who cannot or need not work independently usually stay on at home and busy tnemselves with lighter tasks. Men,
462 for example, help in copra-making (drying), plait the crude coconut-leaf baskets or the "pola" (see p. 311) and make the coconut-fiber cords
868 (kafa); the women make mats, for example. Children grow into their
857 later tasks and duties as a result of the help which their parents demand of them at an early age (generally beginning at five or six years years). On the whole, they probably help their parents more than they play. Thus the boys lend a helping hand on the plantations, bring home some field products, help in drying the copra, often learn a few fishing methods at an early age and, /225/ along with the girls, carry water and bring in firewood; the girls help with many kitchen tasks (for example, shucking coconuts and scraping the kernel meat), they help with the laundry, they learn, at the age of 10 or 12, the various types of plaitwork, and even at this age assist in tapa-
857 making. In addition, mandatory school attendance in all the settle-
891 ments of the Archipelago takes up a great deal of time of the children of all ages.

462 This division of labor generally holds true, but it is not absolutely rigid. Thus, cooking is often done by the men instead of the women. Some men induce their wives to do rather hard work on the plantations, and it is the fate of a few single women that they are obliged to do plantaion work. A (young) man rarely works at mat-

/225 cont./

462 making or helps with tapa-making.

462 178 The principle of the present customary division of labor between the sexes corresponds to that of the past. For example, Cook (584)

584. J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. pp. 282/283.

as well as Mariner (585)

585. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 132, 301; see also E.P.E. de Rossel, Voyage de Dentrecasteaux... I. p. 310.

reported that Tongan men at that time did all the heavy work, while the lighter tasks were the responsibility of their wives. The new 462 tasks that arose as a result of European influence (copra-making, 177 cooking, washing, sewing) were also shared by the two sexes in accordance with this principle. (586)

586. If the situation demands it, however, the women are perfectly willing to do heavy work; for example, one sometimes sees women and girls splitting ripe coconuts with the axe (for making copra), if the male members of the family, for some reason, are prevented from doing this.

461 464 565 The "division of labor" between nobles and commoners, (587)

587. On the occupational division of labor see the chapter "Vocations and Trades" p. 357 ff.

178 which was so much taken for granted in ancient Tonga and, according to which, commoners were obliged to work for nobles who supervised and guided them, was fundamentally changed through the Christianization and democratization of the Archipelago: The commoners today generally work for themselves, for their family alone; some chiefs work their plantation none, others work together with several commoners, and a few let the latter work for them on a voluntary basis and for remuneration (food, kava, money), while they spend their days at leisure.

512 181 The daily routine of the Tongans is still characterized by the

/233 cont./

501 small sail (made of European cloth, seldom a mat) for which they put up a small mast. They use the popao to cover the distance between
501 505 islands lying close together, (615)

615. They seldom use the popao for greater distances, as did a Nomukan, for instance, who, in 1951, traveled 14 sea miles with it across the open sea.

for various methods of fishing (see above) and, on account of their slight draft, to board and leave the small sailboats lying at anchor, as well as to load and unload the latter.

396 824 The natives like to make the hull of the popao from the trunk of the breadfruit tree (Artocarpus altilis), but they also use the mango (Mangifera indica L.), the tavahi (Rhus taitensis Guillemin), the toi (Alphitonia zizyphoides [Spreng.] A Gray), the mohe-mohe and, if possible, the tamanu. Men who have particular experience in boat-building, but also those who are doing this work for the first time in their lives, cut the hull of the boat, which is about three to five meters long, out of /234/ one piece of trunk. They also like to
[438] [435] "export" roughly hewn hulls from islands were the aforementioned types of wood occur in greater abundance to islands that are poor in them; on Nomuka, for instance, they pay 10 £T. (breadfruit tree wood) to 15 £T. (tamanu wood) for such an unfinished boat imported from 'Eua.

396 [465] The owner of the boat-to-be may do the work himself, or a man experienced in boat-building who is provisioned or remunerated (who may receive, for examply, 2 £T. or a horse) does the work. Often the [476] men work in twos or threes, with relatives (for example, son, father, son-in-law, father-in-law, cousin), friends or other villagers helping. [462] Boat-building is purely men's work.

396 412 To hollow out the dugout, which has been roughly hewn with axes and transverse hatchets, they use especially the small transverse hatchet toki unga ko (with the gouge blade, see p. 200-202). They also

S T 177 178 [262] [252] [415] [264] /296 cont./ canned goods have even been introduced into their ceremonial life. Food preparation shows many traditional features--as among the Tongans and perhaps even more so--along with certain innovations (for example iron cooking pots), and the typical method of eating with one's fingers has also been retained.--The conservative Samoans have probably not felt the need for further changes in their tried-and-true methods in areas relating to their means of subsistence, which, moreover, have not been influenced very much by Europeans and indeed would be difficult to change if only because of geographic conditions.

S T 276 177 249 432 In both Archipelagos tobacco, a luxury imported by Europeans, has become quite important; the natives grow it themselves to a large extent and also buy it from shopkeepers.

S T 245 S [434] [596] /297/ As in Tonga, copra production in Samoa has become a very common occupation, and to this has been added cocoa-growing. However, here too these new activities have not brought about much change; there has been no profit- mania, and the old social system has proved strong enough to withstand these influences, for the matai take over the proceeds and use them on behalf of the entire family.

S T 462 178 463 The typical women's handwork of tapa-making and plaiting lives on in Samoa--at least with respect to quality--as it does in Tonga. Division of labor according to sex has also scarcely changed on the Samoa Islands; however, in contrast to the development in the Tonga Archipelago, the social division of labor (titles-untitles) has still been largely upheld. The daily routine has remained basically the same in both island groups, and has been influenced only to a certain extent by new duties and tasks. Land and sea traffic has changed very much in Samoa, as in Tonga, but it is noteworthy that the Samoans build and use the simple outriggers (paopao) and in addition rather large numbers of the more complicated bonito-boats (va'aalo).

S T 512 178 S T 489 178 S [501]

/320 cont./

G 248 177 T 245 177 While in the South Seas Kingdom the old planting cycle was preserved, it experienced considerable change in Buganda through widespread cotton planting as a result of European influence. This means a saleable crop for the Muganda, similar to the Tongan copra production. While the latter, however, does not demand systematic planting and was relatively easily incorporated into the old economic system, the Baganda have been forced, through their cotton raising to give up their six-month cycle of sowing and harvesting, and their general cultivation activity is now dependent on the nine-month growth of cotton.--Cotton harvests for them--like copra harvests for the Tongans--are the most important means of satisfying their modern material wishes and fulfilling their obligations toward the government and the large landowners.

G 262 177 The food of these natives has apparently changed less than that of the Tongans, for here imported European foods have not gained that much importance as supplements. The only general innovation connected with diet seems to be tea-drinking. Peoples here too eat mostly with their fingers.

G [272] G 264

G 287 177 439 I [287] Bark-cloth production, which was also once generally carried on, has here, in contrast to the development in Tonga, very much dropped off as a result of the import of cotton fabrics. Mats and baskets are, however, made by the women to a rather large extent. (50)

50. In this case, however, it is a coarser type of bark cloth (made of a ficus species) and is men's work.

G [462] G 285 462

G 462 177 I [462] [177] Division of labor according to sex in this African country remained basically unchanged--as in Tonga--during the period of European influence. Thus the woman is still responsible for food planting. But the man who, as a result of the general development of the country, has been relieved of some of his duties (for example,

G 461 434

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

463 162 TABLE 13.--Economically Active Males Over Age 15 Classified According to Industry in Which Engaged: 1966.

Industry	Total Number	Percent
Agriculture	13,827	66.58
Commerce	180	.86
Transportation and Communication	334	1.60
Services	1,715	8.25
Manufacturing and Processing	579	2.78
Government and Administration	124	.59
Domestic	33	.15
Unclassified	3,974	19.19
Total	20,766	100.00

SOURCE: S. N. Fiefia, Report of the Results of the 1966 Census (Nuku'alofa: Government Printer, 1968), p. 72.

463 food crops for home consumption, plus some meat, such as pork and 241 goat. As outlined in the previous chapter, virtually all Tongans [162] are tied to the land and only rarely is a household encountered where the production of at least garden crops does not exist. However, the use of imported food commodities is increasing, particularly in the urban areas. This will be discussed in greather depth within the following chapters.

241 Agriculture is usually the work of men, although it was fre- 592 quently observed that an entire family may travel to its rural 'api 462 and spend several days working together. Men usually do the heavier labor, such as clearing and preparing the land for planting. While

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

241 the primary duties of women are cooking, cleaning and looking after
592 the children, they may also assist in the planting and tending of
462 crops. A rigid social division of domestic duties was not observed
[85] in Tongan culture, and often men or older children were seen cooking or tending the children while women labored in the household garden.

241 Tongan agriculture is based upon a bush fallow system. The terminology "bush fallow," in this investigation, is used to denote the Tongan form of shifting cultivation, in which a fallow period is included between cycles of cropping. This system is used primarily in the production of tubers for home use or local market sale.

The bush fallow cycle begins with the selection of a portion of the 'api for clearing, burning-over, and planting. The selection is based upon the requirements of the crop to be grown, in relation to the characteristics of the available land. For example, low swampy land is usually planted in taro, while yams require better drained, loose soil. Following selection, the land is cleared, a procedure which often involves little more than cutting small undergrowth, using a bush knife (Plate 1, p. 73).

134 Most Tongan soils are the result of weathered volcanic ash and are 60 to 90 percent clay. The soil structure is strong, as indicated by its formation and friability, very permeable, and generally exhibits characteristics of favorable tilth. Most Tongan soils are also high in calcium, magnesium and potassium. Phosphorus, generally fixed and immobile, is therefore unavailable in large quantities, although enough is released at a constant rate to

[Plate has not been marked for a Category because of poor quality of the reproduction--Analyst.]

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the cultivation of cash crops. Coconut palms, being relatively independent of the agricultural planting cycle, are a logical choice for farmers engaged in cash cropping in densely populated areas.

In addition to being the major cash crop export, the coconut palm is also invaluable to the Tongan as a building material and a source of food and drink. However, until land tenure is secure, many farmers are reluctant to enter large scale copra production. Interviewed farmers also expressed reluctance to mix the cultivation of food crops and large scale palm growth, because the shade from palms supposedly reduces the yield from food plants. Frequently, farmers eliminate all palm growth from small, scattered portions of their allotments, reserving these areas entirely for food crop production.

The frequency with which households collect coconuts and produce copra varies considerably. Survey informants indicated collections every week, to once per month. In copra production, the coconuts are collected and usually transported to a central location, frequently the area of residency on an allotment. Here the nuts are split and placed in the sun to partially dry (Plate 11).[A A] Later, the flesh is scooped out, dried thoroughly in the sun, and bagged for sale. Occasionally a crude kiln drying shed is used to dry the flesh, in which the heat is supplied by a fire beneath the shed, fed by discarded coconut husks and shells (Plate 12).[B A] The production of copra usually involves the entire family, with men collecting and splitting the nuts, women extracting the flesh, and small children guarding the sun-drying copra from dogs and pigs. The

A, B [Due to poor qality of originals, plates have not been marked for a Categcry--Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 106]